

Library Book

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

BOARD OF EDITORS

HENRY E. BOURNE
FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE
WILLIAM E. DODD

SIDNEY B. FAY
EVARTS B. GREENE
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

MANAGING EDITOR

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

VOLUME XXXII

OCTOBER 1926 TO JULY 1927

LIBRARY
COAST ARTILLERY
SCHOOL

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

1927

M
E171
103
V 32

YBADELI
YELLITRA TRAO
JOOHO2

LANCASTER PRESS, INC.
LANCASTER, PA.

53225

A 2251

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXII

NUMBER 1. OCTOBER, 1926

ARTICLES

ALBERT T. OLMSTEAD	Land Tenure in the Ancient Orient	1
CARL STEPHENSON	The Origin of English Towns	10
WALLACE NOTESTEIN	Retrospective Reviews: Recent British Biographies and Memoirs	22
MERLE E. CURTI	"Young America"	34
NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS—The	Anglo-American Conference of His- torians; Pepys in the Newspa- pers of 1679-1680; First Remis- sion of the Boxer Indemnity	56
DOCUMENTS—Recollections of the War	of 1812 by George Hay, Eighth Marquis of Tweeddale, contrib- uted by Lewis Einstein	69
REVIEWS OF BOOKS		79
HISTORICAL NEWS		181

NUMBER 2. JANUARY, 1927

ARTICLES

DANA C. MUNRO	War in History	219
TENNEY FRANK	Roman Historiography before Cae- sar	232
EINAR JORANSON	The Alleged Frankish Protectorate in Palestine	241
A. SELLEW ROBERTS	The Federal Government and Con- federate Cotton	262
NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS—Contemporary English Printed Sources for the History of the Thirty Years' War; Lincoln and Meade after Gettysburg		276
DOCUMENTS—Major-General Henry Lee and Lieutenant-General Sir George Beckwith on Peace in 1813		284
REVIEWS OF BOOKS		293
CORRECTIONS		378
HISTORICAL NEWS		380

NUMBER 3. APRIL, 1927

ARTICLES

LYNN THORNDIKE	The Meeting of the American His- torical Association at Rochester	429
HERBERT D. FOSTER	The Blight of Pestilence on Early Modern Civilization	455
	International Calvinism through Locke and the Revolution of 1688	475

iii

MARCUS L. HANSEN	The History of American Immigration as a Field for Research	500
GRACE L. NUTE	The Papers of the American Fur Company: a Brief Estimate of their Significance	519
NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS—Byzantine	Studies in Russia, Past and Present; The First Philanthropic Organization in America	539
DOCUMENTS—A Society for Preservation of Liberty, contributed by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton; H. L. Bulwer on the Death of President Taylor, contributed by Amos A. Ettinger		550
REVIEWS OF BOOKS		555
COMMUNICATIONS		675
HISTORICAL NEWS		676

NUMBER 4. JULY, 1927

ARTICLES

CARLETON J. H. HAYES	Contributions of Herder to the Doctrine of Nationalism	719
CRANE BRINTON	Revolutionary Symbolism in the Jacobin Clubs	737
DIXON R. FOX	Civilization in Transit	753
CHARLES S. SYDNOR	The Free Negro in Mississippi	769
NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS—"Medieval"; A Society for Preservation of Liberty; An Early Nineteenth-Century View of Magna Carta; Origin of "Manifest Destiny"; First Use of the Term "Copperhead"		789
DOCUMENTS—Despatches from the United States Consulate in New Orleans, 1801-1803, I.		801
REVIEWS OF BOOKS		825
COMMUNICATIONS		942
HISTORICAL NEWS		947
INDEX		992

The
American Historical Review

LAND TENURE IN THE ANCIENT ORIENT

LAND tenure in the European Middle Ages was early studied by scientific historians, and the establishment of its fundamental importance for the understanding of the economic and social history was one of their greatest triumphs. It was not long before it was recognized that the manorial system of the Middle Ages was no innovation, that it had evolved naturally from the land system of the Roman Empire. In turn, this was traced back to the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Within the last century, a vast number of records in the cuneiform and hieroglyphic writings have been discovered, published, and translated. Parallels, or more correctly, antecedents to the better known land systems of the West were soon detected, and there were even found anticipations of the more truly feudal system of Europe in certain periods of Egyptian and Babylonian history. Orientalists were not slow in pointing out these remarkable similarities, and some went so far as to employ in their translations the familiar terminology of the European manor. Innumerable papyri from Egypt and rarer inscriptions from the other Hellenistic kingdoms showed definite lines of communication between the relatively scanty native Egyptian records and those of the older countries of Western Asia and the records from Europe proper.

With these facts so clearly established, it was natural that the view should prevail that the manorial system was the typical land system of the ancient Orient and that it was the direct ancestor of the better known tenures of the West in later times. The second assumption is undoubtedly correct, and further detailed investigation will surely discover new links between East and West. The first assumption is true in part, but only in part. Assyria, the one country whose records have been studied in their entirety from this point of view, proves that the problem can not be solved in this easy fashion.

The problem will not be solved by the present hurried survey. Many detailed investigations must be carried on before more than a tentative solution can be presented. The humbler purpose of this article is to urge the importance of this subject to the students of land problems in general, to indicate the lines along which it is believed investigation should proceed, and to illustrate this procedure by certain examples taken from the abundant mass of material. Suggestions from neighboring territory will not be ignored, but the data from the ancient Orient will be studied by themselves. In particular, the use of terminology proper to other fields will be avoided as far as possible, since their employment tends to read into the subject ideas which may not actually be there.¹

Theoretically, at least, the investigation should begin with that second phase of the neolithic Orient, when to pottery and polished stone implements there were added the cultivation of the soil and the domestication of animals. Written records are of course entirely absent, and we can only guess at the conditions under which man, or rather woman, tilled the soil. Neolithic graves prove the possession of private property, and this fact would lead us to suspect that there was private ownership in land as well. We can also call upon analogy with the primitive peoples of to-day, for among them we find examples of land held in common, land belonging to the chief, land consecrated to religion, and land assigned to individuals for a year or in more permanent tenure. Some such conditions we may assume to have been behind the earliest historical land systems.

By the dawn of written history, city states of some size had been formed. We can trace their growth most clearly in Babylonia, whose unification takes place in the full light of written history, but there is plenty of evidence that a similar development immediately preceded Egyptian unity under the First Dynasty. Now and then we have hints that similar conditions may have obtained in Elam, in Syria, and in Asia Minor. The land had already come, in whole or in part, into the control of the state. To be more exact, it had come into the hands of the city god, but, since the ruler was the vicegerent of the god on earth, it was the ruler who enjoyed actual possession. Some

¹ This paper was read at Ann Arbor, Dec. 29, 1925, at a joint meeting of the American Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society. It was again read at the meeting of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society at Chicago, Mar. 19, 1926. Both Orientalists and historians have contributed valuable suggestions which have been incorporated in the revised paper. It is a pleasure to state that Professor D. D. Luckenbill, of the University of Chicago, authority on Babylonian and Assyrian economic history, has expressed complete agreement with the general view herein presented, though with no necessary agreement in individual details.

of the land he may have granted to his nobles for favors received or to be given, but the vast mass was crown land. It was cultivated by serfs who paid to the god rent and not taxes; this rent was paid in kind, and in turn the ruler paid the salaries of his subordinates in grain, so that the measure of grain almost became the equivalent of coin in bookkeeping. Only in the case of the cities may there have been a more free tenure, though this is by no means certain for the earliest period. Thousands of bookkeeping records from Babylonia establish the accuracy of this picture.²

This system of land tenure proved peculiarly adapted to the Nile valley and was continued throughout the ages. It was the basis for the wealth of the Fourth Dynasty and it made possible the erection of the pyramids. In the period of decline which followed, it broke down to the extent of transferring the rights of the crown to the feudal princes who defied the central power, but the serf benefitted not at all by the change. It was in full force again under the New Empire, to which belongs the well-known story of Joseph, whose wisdom is made by the Hebrew writer the cause of its introduction.³ Thousands of papyri from the Macedonian and Roman and early Arab periods have made it familiar to every student of agricultural history, and it has left its traces in the Egypt of to-day. It has made the typical Egyptian a peasant.⁴ Yet, it should be noted, there is some evidence for a land-holding middle class from at least the Middle Kingdom and onward.⁵

When the Shumerian in Babylonia began to be supplanted by the Semite, fresh from the nomadic life of the Arabian desert, we find our first certain examples of tenure in fee simple. Manishtusu, one of the greatest monarchs of the Agade dynasty, could not confiscate land without compensation. As witnessed by his great stele, he must pay the owners at the current price or must grant other lands of equivalent value.⁶ The business documents likewise reflect the change. Holdings of the citizens of the towns were not confined to houses within the towns themselves but also included lands in the outskirts. All their property could be bought and sold, provided only that the transaction was properly recorded, sealed, and witnessed. Church and state had begun to separate, and the possessions of the

² Cf. H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes Sumériennes Archaïques* (Paris, 1909).

³ Gen. 47: 23 ff.

⁴ J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1912), pp. 44, 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 237.

⁶ J. de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires* (Paris, 1900 ff.), I., opp. p. 142; V. Scheil, II. 1 ff. Cf. F. Steinmetzer, *Beitr. z. Assyriologie*, VIII. 2; A. T. Olmstead, *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, XXXIII. 316.

temples continued to increase, until the priesthoods dominated the economic life, through their great estates, their training of the scribes, and their issuance of coined money, bearing the head of the local god as witness to its correct weight and fineness. The code of Hammurabi, based on earlier Shumerian codes, shows the system in full force.⁷

With the conquest of the Babylonian alluvium by half-civilized hordes of Kashshites from the east, there resulted a remarkable parallel to the conditions of the European Middle Ages. In each case, on the basis of an earlier manorial system, a definitely feudal system was imposed in a period of political disturbance, when the royal power was at its weakest. Nearly a hundred Kashshite boundary stones have come down to us. They contain royal charters, granting huge tracts of land to more than half independent nobles, and with as careful a statement of the rights and immunities which went with them as can be read in any medieval charter. They are full of technical terms, especially of those dealing with taxation, and exact interpretation is still in the future.⁸

In its general outlines, the Assyrian system of land tenure was very similar to that of Babylonia, from which it was in large part derived. Since it has been presented, with as complete a view as the evidence at hand will permit, in the writer's *History of Assyria*,⁹ a brief sketch may here suffice.

For sources, we have over a thousand bookkeeping documents, the larger part of an agricultural nature, a few letters which discuss farming conditions, a few incidental references in the royal annals, the charters to the nobles and to the imperial free cities, above all, the Harran Census. Each section of the census deals with a family group. Since the father is named first, it would appear that these holdings were hereditary. Then follows the status of the head of the family, irrigator, husbandman, vineyardist, shepherd; his sons are listed by name, his daughters are counted. The number of his slaves is given and then his holdings, reckoned by the *imer*, the amount of land that could be sown with an ass-load of seed.

The soil of the great estates, which were particularly numerous in Mesopotamia, was cultivated by serfs. In the sales of land, they are regularly mentioned by name, and in the same sentence with the live

⁷ V. Scheil, *Dél. en Perse, Mém.*, IV. 11 ff.; R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi* (Chicago, 1904).

⁸ Full bibliography of these charters, A. T. Olmstead, *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, XXXVI. 120 ff.; the most important single collection is that by L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones* (London, 1912).

⁹ A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923).

stock. They could not leave land or master, but they might buy additional land, stock, or equipment. They probably paid a third of their income to their master.

In addition to payment of rent, regularly in kind, the serf, often a deported captive, owed numerous services to the state. The land unit was the "bow", which must furnish the military unit, a bowman and his shield-bearer. Serf as well as slave must also serve the state for economic purposes. Peasants must work the crown lands, keep up roads and canals, and assist in building government structures. References to "task work" are frequent in the letters to the king, and once we hear the voice of the ancient lowly, "the task work is heavy, heavy upon us". The peasant's daughters must serve "king's maidship", as, for example, in the great weaving establishments in the royal capitals.

The Assyrian might be a fierce warrior, but he had learned the great truth that the real foundation of the state is the farmer, and he treated his serfs accordingly. A system much like that of our working the farms on shares was normal. Our largest single group of bookkeeping documents from the royal archives consists of the records of loans advanced by the master to finance the harvest.

In all ages and throughout all countries, not excepting our own, the greatest problem of the farmer has been the securing of loans for his seasonal necessities without recourse to the usurer. The Assyrian landlord showed strangely enlightened self-interest in saving his tenant from this fate. His loans were not in accord with the usual practice, which results in the enslaving of tenant to master by an ever mounting and unpaid interest. The Assyrian landlord actually refused to demand interest at all if the loan was paid when the harvest was in. In fact, he actually lost money if grain were loaned, for he made his loan when grain was dear and received it when it was cheap. Only the careless and the thriftless, who did not meet his loan at harvest, paid interest and then it was high enough.

The Assyrian has been given a bad reputation. Certainly he did not deserve it from his treatment of his peasants. The fact is that the peasant was relatively well off when Assyria ruled the world. His successors did not follow the same enlightened policy, and in the later documents from Babylonia we can watch the serf sink to the level of the slave and lose his identity in a separate and more privileged class.

Our documents come almost entirely from court circles and therefore deal largely with crown lands or with the estates held by the nobles. But there are sufficient references to the free farmer and

cultivator to prove that they formed a considerable part of the population. While the great plains of Mesopotamia and their continuation in North Syria were largely tilled by serfs, the rougher country was still held by the free peasant. Here the idea of family ownership was strong, as is witnessed by the elaborate formula in the bills of sale by which the various members of the seller's family are prohibited from claiming an interest in the sold land. That even deported captives might own land in fee simple is shown by the speech of the Assyrian general to the men of Jerusalem whom he was attempting to persuade to surrender: "Every one shall eat of his own vine and his fig tree and drink the waters of his own cistern."¹⁰

Nor, in any estimate of Assyrian land tenure, should we forget the imperial free city. These free cities possessed elaborate charters of rights, frequently renewed by their rulers, and which applied equally to the lands held by the citizens in the suburbs. Here all lands were held in fee simple, could be freely bought and sold, and were immune from all the vexatious exactions of the military and civil service.¹¹ Taking into consideration all this evidence, we may conclude that a very large part of the Assyrian Empire was cultivated under the manorial tenure, but it is equally clear that a very respectable part of the citizens owned their land as fully as we do to-day.

Palestine and its land tenure must be of special interest to us, because of its Biblical associations. It was a land of small patches of thin soil, hidden in deep isolated valleys or shut in by rocks and forests, and was therefore ill fitted to farming on a large scale. Its population was constantly being recruited from the desert, whose inhabitants adapted themselves but poorly to the settled agricultural life.

The Phoenician coast was indeed marked by rich pockets of soil, large enough to afford a start to civilization, but too small to support a large population. Intensive agriculture was therefore demanded, with its emphasis on the small farmer, and even at that its citizens were driven to the sea to act as the middlemen for the ancient world or to sell industrial products manufactured at home.

How simple was Syrian agriculture is strikingly indicated by the Canaanite code which Professor Waterman has shown underlies the earliest Hebrew code still preserved in Exodus. There can be no doubt that it is based on the code of the Babylonian Hammurabi, for sometimes there is actual translation, but more often there is adaptation. This adaptation in itself proves the existence of a free peas-

¹⁰ II Kings 18: 31; for detailed study of the Assyrian land system, cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, chap. XL., the Assyrian Manor.

¹¹ Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, chap. XLI., the Imperial Free City.

antry. There are slaves but no serfs, and the large estate is conspicuously absent.¹² This free peasantry appears again and again in our earliest Hebrew tales, such as that of Saul, about to become king, but not too proud to hunt his father's asses.¹³

Hebrew union was a necessity to meet Philistine aggression, but the peasant paid a large part of the price. One of our earliest examples of political philosophy is that chapter in Samuel in which the seer is presented as telling the people what manner of service they must do for a king. The taking of the tithe is simple taxation. But, by the "manner of the king", he will also take their children to plow his ground and to reap his harvests, while their daughters will be perfumers, cooks, and bakers. These duties closely parallel the services demanded by the Assyrian king. Further, he will take their best fields, vineyards, and olive yards, and will give them to his servants.¹⁴

David followed the example of his greater neighbors in making a census. Military needs were given as excuse, though we can not doubt that taxation was more in the king's mind. The true Hebrew attitude is made plain by Joab's emphatic dissent, and public opinion saw David's punishment in the pestilence which followed.¹⁵

To Solomon must be ascribed such discredit as may accrue to the man who introduced, on a large scale, forced labor for the erection of his palace and temple and for the division of the land into administrative districts whose chief purpose was the proper collection of the taxes to support his elaborate court.¹⁶ The reaction under Rehoboam, which resulted in the divided kingdom, was in its essence a revolt of the free peasantry against these exactions. The ostraka discovered in Ahab's storehouse by the Harvard expedition which excavated Samaria shows the same system of enforced contributions in effect,¹⁷ and a little later we have similar evidence in the inscribed jars that contained the oil and wine collected in the four provinces of Judah and sent to the king at Jerusalem.¹⁸

Jehu's revolt was not merely religious but economic, for Jehu too represented the peasantry. That the lot of the peasant was not

¹² Exod. 21 f.; cf. Leroy Waterman, *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, XXXVIII, 36 ff.

¹³ I Sam. 9.

¹⁴ I Sam. 8: 10 ff.; for the granting of fields and vineyards by the king, cf. also I Sam. 22: 7.

¹⁵ II Sam. 24.

¹⁶ I Kings 4: 7 ff., with its valuable fragment from the royal archives.

¹⁷ G. A. Reisner, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 227 ff.; cf. W. F. Albright, *Jour. Palestine Oriental Society*, V, 38 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Albright, *loc. cit.*

thereby improved, even under his own dynasty, is shown by the first of the writing prophets, Amos, who is not dazzled by the superficial prosperity of Jeroboam II., but pictures for us the decay of agriculture and the loss of lands by the poor.¹⁹ This is one of the chief themes of the prophets who followed. Yet, with all allowance for these gloomy pictures, it is clear that the greater part of the land was still in the possession of the free peasants, and that their lot, if unhappy, was due to poor crops and bad seasons, rather than to oppressive landlords.

Did we know more of Persian history, we could better trace the part Persia played in passing on these various systems of land tenure to the classical world. Very few documents exist in the native Persian and these tell nothing of the land, but we have incidental references to the Greek and Latin authors, we have a fair sized amount of Biblical material from the Persian period, we have an ever increasing number of Aramaic inscriptions and papyri, the cuneiform tablets from this age are an unworked mine, there is much in the hieroglyphic inscriptions from the Nile. From these, when properly collected and studied, a new picture of Persia can be drawn and at least the outlines of the land systems can be blocked out.

The Persian was no innovator, neither was he a stickler for administrative uniformity. He took what he found and made the best of it. The very words he used in his taxation terminology, preserved in the Aramaic documents incorporated in the book of Ezra, are letter for letter the same as those used by the Assyrians and Babylonians before him.²⁰ Where he found large estates, as in Asia Minor, he retained them.²¹ Where religious communities or foundations enjoyed special rights, he was careful not to disturb them, as in the case of the shrine of Apollo in Magnesia,²² or the still more famous case of the temple at Jerusalem.

The Hebrew prophets of the Persian period, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, bear witness to the same peasant farming and the same crop failures in bad years. Nehemiah tells of the king's tribute which is driving the peasants into debt and slavery, but it is their own lands which they are mortgaging, and to their fellow Jews.²³ The law codes of the period assume ownership of field and vineyard,²⁴ and

¹⁹ Amos 8: 4.

²⁰ Ezra 4: 13, 20; 6: 8; 7: 20 ff.

²¹ B. Haussoullier, *Rev. de Philologie*, XXV. 8 ff.; cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Beitr. z. Alten Geschichte*, I. 295 ff.

²² Gadatas inscription, G. Cousin and G. Deschamps, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XIII. 529 ff.; English translation, C. J. Ogden, in G. W. Botsford and E. G. Sihler, *Hellenic Civilization* (New York, 1915), p. 162.

²³ Neh. 5: 3.

²⁴ Lev. 19: 9 ff.

indeed there is so little question of tenure that they ignore the whole matter. The intensely strong family feeling for the land is shown by the jubilee laws, even though they may never have been actually enforced.²⁵ The Jewish papyri from Elephantine present us with the documents of a military colony at the First Cataract, buying and selling their lands, not according to the servile custom of Egypt, but by forms which are essentially the same as those employed by the inhabitants of the free cities of Babylonia.²⁶

Our conclusion must be that there is no simple formula that will explain the whole development of land tenure in the ancient Orient. A large part of this territory was indeed farmed under conditions approaching those found on the manors of medieval Europe, but there were many variations in detail, and there was no little ownership in fee simple. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the Near East in Greco-Roman times or under the Muslims. We can be sure that the land system of the Hellenistic and the Roman world goes back to those of the ancient Orient, and that here is to be sought the source of the serf estate. But it should also be remembered that other systems of tenure remained in the Orient until the time of Alexander and that they have survived to the present day in Arabic and Turkish law.

Thus far, students of the classical land tenure have largely devoted their attention to Egypt, where such masses of papyri have been unearthed. But it will long ago have been observed that in this, as in so many other respects, Egypt was not typical of the whole Near East. There are other records for the Greco-Roman period. A careful study of the later Jewish writings would add much, for it has been clearly shown that in many respects the Talmudic doctors simply followed old Babylonian law.²⁷ The cuneiform tablets of the Seleucid period have much to say on land ownership, as on many another feature of the economic life, but few have even been translated. One tablet, which can scarcely be called well published or annotated, gives direct evidence on our problem.²⁸ No one has searched through the dreary tomes of Syrian homilies to gather the agricultural grain. Arabic and later procedure will afford welcome hints. But this paper is already over long for so humble a survey, and it will have accomplished its purpose if interest is excited in this new and virtually unplowed field.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

²⁵ Lev. 25: 23 ff.

²⁶ A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford, 1923). Note the references to the sluggard and his field in Prov. 20: 4; 24: 30, probably dating from the Hellenistic period.

²⁷ Cf. H. S. Linfield, *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, XXXVI. 40 ff. Note especially the mortgages which assume fee-simple ownership.

²⁸ C. F. Lehmann, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, VII. (1892) 330 ff.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH TOWNS

IN 1893 and 1895 there appeared in the *Revue Historique* a noteworthy article¹ by the eminent historian Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent, setting forth ideas which he has since continued to develop in a variety of scattered publications. But M. Pirenne's work, fortunately, is not destined to remain, like that of so many scholars, known only to readers of technical European journals. As a result of a visit to America in 1922, when he lectured at many of our universities, M. Pirenne has now brought out, through the Princeton University Press, a most admirable little volume,² wherein all may follow the fascinating story of the medieval town.

As told by M. Pirenne, the story is straightforward and simple. True urban life has ever been based on trade and industry; as it is to-day, so it was in the Middle Ages and antiquity. Throughout the greater part of Western Europe, however, urban life has had no continuous existence from Roman to our own times, for an age intervened when commerce practically ceased. As a consequence, the medieval town was the product of a commercial revival. It was the inevitable result of economic forces that operated then, as now, without regard for religion, language, political tradition, or cephalic index. National characteristics, local institutions, or royal regulation might affect the superficial organization of an urban settlement, but in themselves were powerless to create it.

Now, obvious as it seems, no one has adopted just this point of view in dealing with the English borough; at least, no one has pushed home the conclusions that it necessitates. The records have been read and reread, but too often interpreted to mean something that they do not say. Let us then test the theories of M. Pirenne by the English evidence, accepting as certain only what the sources of each age indisputably prove.

In the first place, flourishing towns existed in Roman Britain, but it is agreed that, with the coming of the barbarians, urban life in that province suffered even more complete collapse than in Gaul and in Germany.³ On the Continent it was the Church that, thanks to its

¹ "Les Origines des Constitutions Urbaines au Moyen-Âge", *Revue Historique*, LIII. 52 ff., LVII. 57 ff.

² *Medieval Cities* (Princeton, 1925). A French version is to follow.

³ C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History* (Manchester, 1911), pp. 73, 74; A. Ballard, *The English Borough in the*

diocesan organization, kept alive the idea of the Roman *civitas*. The city became the cathedral town, the centre of an episcopal administration which included, by virtue of royal immunity, the right of holding courts, coining money, collecting tolls, and providing for local defense. The last item, indeed, was one of paramount importance, particularly in the period of the Norman incursions. Under the command of the bishop or of his *avoué*, the walls that had stood since the days of Constantine were repaired and given over to the charge of a permanent garrison. Although, however, the city remained important as a fortress and as an administrative centre, it was neither a unit of economic production nor a legal entity. Its inhabitants lived off the labor of peasants on surrounding estates; its court, its mint, its market were supported by outsiders; if it had a government, that was not self-government.⁴

In Britain no such episcopal organization existed, or at least, none survived the Saxon conquest. When bishops were installed among the converted kingdoms, some took Roman cities as their capitals, but others established themselves in mere country villages—a situation that remained for Norman prelates to bring into accord with Continental usage.⁵ In any case, if the old city kept any political importance, this was the work of the king, and we may leave the bishop out of account.

Now it is a familiar fact that the kingdom of England was a product of the tenth century. The king of Wessex, like the count of Flanders, proved his statesmanship in war with the heathen invader, and in both countries there began a new era of fortification. It was then that Flanders, like many other feudal states, saw the erection of those crude fortresses known in French dialects as castles and in German as burgs. What the city was for the bishop, the castle was for the secular prince. The Flemish burg, placed in the hands of a castellan, became not merely a military post, but also a centre for the administration of justice and the collection of the count's revenues. Its population included, besides a garrison of soldiers and a few

Twelfth Century (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 70 ff. In the former of these books the critical scholarship of M. Petit-Dutaillis gives a splendid guide to the literature on the English borough; and as an introduction to the sources, the painstaking compilations of Adolphus Ballard prove equally indispensable. For the sake of brevity, reference in the following pages will be restricted, wherever possible, to such standard authorities.

⁴ Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, pp. 56–71. For the purposes of this study it will not be necessary to repeat the citations that M. Pirenne makes of his numerous other publications.

⁵ G. Hill, *English Dioceses* (London, 1900).

priests, a horde of officials and serving-men; but like the inhabitants of the contemporary city, they were dependent on outlying manors for their subsistence and formed neither an economic nor a political community.⁶

If, with these facts in mind, we now turn to the records of Saxon England, what do we find? That some Roman cities continued to serve as fortresses or places of refuge, particularly in the time of the Danish invasions, when their walls were repaired and improved.⁷ That such a place was called in Anglo-Saxon a *burh*—a name which had been earlier applied to a defensible dwelling-house.⁸ Then we have the familiar story of the *burh*-building by Edward the Elder, the “timbering” of what at first must have been rude entrenchments and stockades,⁹ but many *burhs* became linked with political organization in the conquered Danelaw and even outside it. The Burghal Hidage gives us a list of thirty-one such centres, each followed by the number of hides apparently connected with it for military purposes;¹⁰ and by the end of the tenth century, we have proof that the *burh* was the ordinary meeting-place of a court, that it regularly contained a mint and an official market, and that it was governed by a royal reeve.¹¹

Taken by itself, this evidence surely delineates something very similar to the Flemish burg of the same epoch; for the fact that the

⁶ Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, pp. 73–77.

⁷ Ballard, *The English Borough*, pp. 73 ff.

⁸ F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1898–1912), II. 330 (“Burg”), 659 (“Stadt”); F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 183 ff.; Ella S. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London, 1913), ch. II.; W. H. St. John Hope, “English Fortresses and Castles of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries”, *Archaeological Journal*, LX. 72 ff.

⁹ Mrs. Armitage has not only listed the *burhs* of Edward and Ethelfleda (pp. 26, 27), but has made a minute study of the extant earthworks at each place. Thanks to her scholarly work, definite conclusions as to the size and shape of the early *burh* can now be made. Eddisbury, “the only case in which the work of Ethelfleda is preserved in a practically unaltered form”, is an oval about 600 feet by 1200, enclosing a little over 10 acres (p. 35). Of the *burhs* of Edward, Witham had an area of 9½ acres (p. 39), Maldon of 22, Towcester of 35 (p. 41), Nottingham of 39 (p. 45), and Cambridge of 30 (p. 55). The last two of these forts were originally Danish. The *burh* was thus a small affair hastily thrown up in a few weeks. It normally consisted of a wooden palisade and a ditch, but at Towcester the Chronicle says that Edward erected a stone wall.

¹⁰ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 187, 502 ff.; Ballard, *The English Borough*, pp. 42 ff.; Armitage, *Norman Castles*, pp. 28, 385; H. M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 204 ff.

¹¹ Maitland, pp. 185–195; A. Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs* (Oxford, 1904), pp. 110 ff., and *The English Borough*, pp. 43 ff.; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II. 659 (“Stadt”).

term *borough* later came to mean town in our sense of the word does not for an instant justify the conclusion that urban settlements were created by the son of King Alfred.¹² Indeed, Maitland's picture of the primitive *burh* was entirely faithful to the sources¹³—a fact that seems to have been obscured by the controversy over his "garrison theory". Even that much criticized notion, though hardly proved by the known facts, is by no means contradicted by them. Garrisons of some sort there must have been in the *burh*; men styled *cnihts* were still living there in 1066, and although they "drank their gilds", they were not professional tradesmen.¹⁴ The *burh* had a market-place, but as Maitland said, that "does not imply a resident population of buyers and sellers".¹⁵ The tenth-century borough would seem to have been essentially a royal military and administrative centre, the inhabitants of which were socially indistinguishable from the country

¹² Practically all our modern authorities (*e.g.*, Petit-Dutaillis, Liebermann, and Ballard, *ut supra*) use *borough* and *town* interchangeably for the tenth century—an equation which is entirely unjustifiable without careful definition of terms. Medieval chroniclers and scribes frequently wrote *urbs*, *oppidum*, *castellum*, *castra*, or *portus* as the equivalent of *burgus*, but we must not allow classic terminology to blind us as to the nature of the thing itself. Mrs. Armitage (ch. V. and app. D) cites the relevant sources, but seems to think that the motte and bailey type of fortress introduced into England by the Normans should alone be properly called castle; earlier fortresses were towns. To her the *burh* was not merely the camp of refuge so clearly depicted by contemporary writings and archaeological remains, but "a place where people were expected to live permanently and do their daily work . . . a fostering seat for trade and manufactures". But is there any evidence for this latter supposition? Military necessity alone will account for the location of the tenth-century boroughs (see the excellent sketch by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope cited above, n. 8), and if half of them lived on into the next century, it was due to the accidents of history, and not to the kindly foresight of their founders (see below, n. 23).

¹³ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 184–195. Maitland clearly implied that the early *burh* was no true town, but since economic history did not interest him, he made no attempt to explain how the *burh* became a town. His disciple Ballard seems never to have realized that such a problem existed.

¹⁴ See the distinction between *domus equitum* and *domus mercatorum* at Nottingham, *Domesday Book*, I. 280. On the *cnihts* and their gilds, see J. H. Round, in *Victoria History of Hampshire*, I. 530 ff.; C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant* (Oxford, 1890), I. 2 ff.; Maitland, p. 191. On the garrison theory, see Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies*, I. 82 ff.; Ballard, *The English Borough*, pp. 66 ff. The argument that Maitland based on the "tenurial heterogeneity" of the Domesday boroughs has never made many converts, and Ballard's own peculiar extension of the idea is even less convincing. On the other hand, Mary Bateson's objections (*English Historical Review*, XX. 144 ff.) are not altogether borne out by the Domesday evidence. This question deserves more thorough treatment, but may here be passed over as irrelevant to the main point under discussion.

¹⁵ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 195–196. Cf. Pirenne, p. 141.

population, gaining a living directly or indirectly from agriculture.¹⁶ Of the later middle class there is not a hint in the sources.

If, on the other hand, we turn to the twelfth-century borough, we find what was unquestionably a mercantile centre. It was not peculiarly royal, for a great multitude of feudal lords were actively engaged in creating boroughs by charter. With the military revolution wrought by the Norman Conquest, the borough had ceased to be of paramount importance as a fortress. It still had walls and occasionally its inhabitants would be called on to fight, but the rule was already appearing that the burgess could not be forced to serve except in defense of his own home. In place of the royal administration had now appeared a communal government, with elected magistrates, an exclusive judicial organization, and an autonomous financial system. Though all agricultural flavor had not departed, the streets of the average borough were now lined with shops; its gild-merchant monopolized business inside the walls; its wharves were piled with goods awaiting sale or shipment. By their freedom, by their privileges, and by their occupations, its inhabitants were sharply distinguished from those of the countryside. Moreover, a peculiar method of land-holding had become characteristic of the urban community. The burgess held by burgage tenure, acquitting all obligations towards his lord by payment of a money rent, and enjoying the rights of free sale and devise.¹⁷ The middle class has definitely appeared in history.

Now it is the thesis of M. Pirenne that this familiar medieval town, with its self-government, its free status, its wealth and prosperity, was the product of the commercial revival that revolutionized Europe in the eleventh century—a doctrine so widely ac-

¹⁶ In this respect the Anglo-Saxon sources leave little ground for dispute. Neither a market nor a mint implied trade extensive enough to support an urban population, and all that we know of the later borough leads us to believe that agriculture reigned supreme in the tenth century. Authorities agree that the *burh* had no more self-government than the rural hundred. The reeve was appointed by the king or the earl, and our scanty information concerning the court tends to prove that it was not a municipal but a territorial organ, connected in some obscure fashion with the administration of the kingdom and probably older than the shire-court. Maitland, pp. 185 ff., 209 ff.; Chadwick, *Studies*, chs. VI., VII.; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II. 451 ("Gericht", 12, 13), 516 ("Hundred", 10), 661 ("Stadt", 12); C. S. Taylor, "The Origin of the Mercian Shires", *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Journal*, XXI. 32 ff.

¹⁷ See the exhaustive analysis of twelfth-century municipal charters in A. Ballard, *British Borough Charters*, vol. I. (Cambridge, 1913). In the introduction to the second volume of this work, Mr. Tait has further strengthened the argument that, in the twelfth century, burgage tenure made the borough and the borough made burgage tenure. See also Hemmeon, *Burgage Tenure in Medieval England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914), p. 157.

cepted that it does not seem necessary to justify it by elaborate argument. Disputes may continue over the details of its application but hardly over its fundamental truth. It seems to be a fact that towns grew up on the Continent where, and only where, trade conditions were favorable. Many Roman cities again became rich and populous as commerce once more flowed along its ancient channels, but beside them were a host of new centres of distribution developed by new routes. The nucleus of such a town was frequently the mercantile colony that grew up round a princely stronghold. The *new burg* quickly became *the burg*; and by the end of the eleventh century *burgenses* meant neither soldiers nor servitors of a castle, but burghers. Yet there were always cities, as there were always castles, which remained untouched by the new economic currents, and which the thirteenth century found much as they had been in the tenth. For one monastery that became the germ of a town there were a dozen that did not; nor did every village market give birth to a metropolis.¹⁸

England, of course, had no towns to compare with those of Flanders during any part of the Middle Ages; but, thanks to the matchless records of the Norman monarchy, our knowledge of what towns there were is singularly complete. For the earlier period, the Burghal Hidage and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle give us a list of some fifty *burhs*; ¹⁹ for the twelfth century the indefatigable Ballard has provided us with a list of over one hundred towns that received charters before the death of King John; ²⁰ and for the intervening time we have an even more thorough enumeration—the Domesday catalogue of boroughs existing either in 1066 or in 1086.²¹ This is precious material, for a mere comparison of the three lists should lead to some interesting conclusions as to the relationship of the mercantile borough to the old royal *burh*.

Examining first the twelfth-century list beside that of Domesday, we find about fifty names common to both.²² It is therefore plain that over one-half of the twelfth-century boroughs were new creations, as indeed their charters frequently declare. But that is not all; a large number of the Domesday boroughs failed to qualify for a charter of liberties in the next century. As one group of boroughs was being born, another group was dying off; and to explain this

¹⁸ Pirenne, ch. VI.

¹⁹ Ballard, *The English Borough*, pp. 41, 42. Cf. Armitage, *Norman Castles*, pp. 26, 27.

²⁰ Ballard, *British Borough Charters*, pp. cxxxvi ff.

²¹ Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, pp. 9, 10, and *The English Borough*, pp. 83, 84.

²² Ballard provided the material for this comparison, but seems never to have appreciated the importance of making it.

noteworthy fact we shall have to turn our attention to the tests of burghal status applied by the Domesday commissioners, a complicated problem, but one to which we are not entirely without a clue.

We may next observe that of the names on our tenth-century list scarcely one-half continue to stand in Domesday.²³ Between Edward the Elder and Edward the Confessor governmental needs and standards had changed; the *burh* of one was not necessarily the *burh* of the other. In particular, by the end of this period such a place was not merely a military position, but an administrative centre that normally included a mint and a court co-ordinate with the hundred, and from which the earl regularly received the third penny. Now these features appear prominently in Domesday, and if we adopt them as marks of the official Anglo-Saxon borough, we secure a list of about seventy places that were still called boroughs after the Norman Conquest,²⁴ although a good many of them had passed into private hands and some were plainly decadent. Indeed, a score of ancient boroughs never did secure charters; according to the standards of a new age, life was not in them.²⁵

To the Domesday commissioners, we may conclude, the borough was primarily a traditional institution; for their classification clearly depended neither on population nor on economic resources, the two factors that within a hundred years came to be considered all-important. Obviously some revolutionary force was at work, and what could it have been but commerce? The supposition that, under the influence of trade, the older official borough, which was not a town, grew into the newer mercantile borough, which was a town, is one that the evidence thus far examined inevitably suggests. But it need not have so meagre a foundation; Domesday is filled with hints that a transitional stage in the history of the English borough had already been reached by 1086.

²³ The figures are given by Ballard (*The English Borough*, p. 42), but his obsession concerning "composite boroughs" obscures the issue.

²⁴ This is admirably brought out by Ballard's table (*ibid.*, pp. 83, 84). The failure of Domesday to mention one or another of these features does not, of course, prove that it did not exist.

²⁵ As was pointed out by Maitland (pp. 175 ff.), the conventional aids paid by the boroughs on the occasion of a Danegeld serve as another test of their relative importance in the early twelfth century. At first the list is practically that of the old official boroughs still remaining in the king's hands, though some places, like Buckingham, have already dropped out. Others disappear by the middle of the century, and eventually, when Henry II. develops the new tax that comes to be called *tallage*, it is levied on old and new boroughs alike, and solely according to their ability to pay. C. Stephenson, "The Aids of the English Boroughs", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV. 457 ff.

In the first place, the Domesday list is not confined to ancient official boroughs, for alongside them appear a considerable number of new creations which are also styled *burgi*.²⁶ We read that at Norwich, Nottingham, and Northampton new boroughs have been established since the Norman Conquest, and that they have been settled by Frenchmen, colonies of whom are also reported as residing at Hereford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, and Wallingford.²⁷ In these cases the flexible Latin undoubtedly translates the French *bourg*—a walled addition to an older structure, a new trading-quarter.

Again, Domesday describes exactly the same sort of thing in connection with the new-style feudal castles built by the Conqueror or his barons. "Henry de Ferrers", says the survey of Staffordshire, "has the castle of Totbury. In the borough about the castle are forty-two men living only by their trading, and they render together with the market 4*l.* and 10*s.*"²⁸ Similar colonies appear at Wigmore, Castle Clifford, Quatford, Rhuddlan, Penwortham, Okehampton, and Berkhamstead,²⁹ as well as near certain monasteries.³⁰ The king also is lord of boroughs that are not of the ancient type, such as Reading and Twineham;³¹ and various barons seem, about the same time, to have built little boroughs on their country estates.³²

Now to us a trading settlement of two-score houses surrounded by a fence and a ditch would not be much of a town, but such a nucleus might, under favorable conditions, develop into a town; and we should remember that many a *ville neuve* of the next century was even less than this when it was first created. Some of the new

²⁶ Domesday apparently reports about thirty such places, bearing none of the marks of the old official borough, but the terminology is somewhat uncertain (Maitland, p. 181). The only new Domesday borough of any size was Dunwich. *Domesday Book*, II. 311.

²⁷ *D. B.*, I. 52, 56, 179, 219, 252, 280, II. 116. Mary Bateson's well-known appreciation of the new borough (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XVI. 335 ff.) remains in large part valid, but subject to the corrections made by Mr. Hemmeon, *Burgage Tenure*, pp. 166 ff.

²⁸ *D. B.*, I. 248^b.

²⁹ *D. B.*, I. 105^b, 136^b, 183, 183^b, 254, 269, 270. See also Round, in *Vict. Hist. Hertfordshire*, I. 295, and *Herefordshire*, I. 300; Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, ch. v.

³⁰ *E.g.*, St. Albans, *D. B.*, I. 135^b. Cf. Berton, *D. B.*, I. 58^b: "et x. mercatores ante portam aecclisae manentes reddunt xl. den."; also Steyning and Ashwell, *D. B.*, I. 17, 135.

³¹ *D. B.*, I. 38^b, 58. Cf. Eye, *D. B.*, II. 319^b: "et modo i. mercatum et unus parvus, et in mercato manent xxv. burgenses."

³² *E.g.*, Cheshunt and Stanstead, *D. B.*, I. 137, 138^b. Cf. Berkeley, *D. B.*, I. 163: "Ibi unum forum in quo manent xvii. homines et reddunt census in firma."

boroughs of Domesday grew and some did not, but all are interesting as revealing first steps, that otherwise would have to be conjectured, toward the organization of professional trading.

To return to the old borough, Domesday unfortunately reports the number of French colonists at only half a dozen places. For the rest it gives the ordinary haphazard statistics as to increase or decrease of inhabitants or revenues. Many boroughs were obviously prospering as the result of the Norman Conquest, but we are not told just how or why. The commissioners of the Conqueror were not interested in the origin, occupation, or legal status of the burgess population. However, by putting together a few desultory remarks and by reading between the lines, we do manage to gain some valuable information.

Wherever we get figures at all, the majority of men in most boroughs seem to have held little or no land beyond what was necessary for their town houses.³³ Agricultural features, of course, continued to be prominent, but if the brilliant Maitland had been as much interested in economic revolution as he was in legal continuity, the agrarian side of English municipal history would not loom so large in our modern texts.³⁴ The eleventh-century burgess was decidedly more *bourgeois* than has been represented. Not only did he

³³ Good figures in this respect are given us only in the eastern counties. At Thetford 21 out of 720 burgesses held 6 carucates and 60 acres (*D. B.*, II. 118^b); at Maldon 15 out of 180 held half a hide and 21 acres (*D. B.*, II. 5^b). The same situation seems to be indicated at Ipswich, where 808 burgesses held only 40 acres, and at Norwich, where 1320 held 80 (*D. B.*, II. 290, 116). And although, as seems probable, these portions of hides were units of geld-assessment rather than actual acres, such a partition seems to look back to an age when the boroughs were assessed for geld on the basis only of their arable land. Poor men at Ipswich and Thetford paid only a poll-tax as their share of the geld. Were landless merchants assessed on their movables? Even so, it should be noted that the ratings of many boroughs were ridiculously low. In this connection see the judicious remarks of Mr. F. M. Stenton in *Vict. Hist. Derbyshire*, I. 308, and *Nottinghamshire*, I. 236. Cf. Maitland, *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 173. In the new boroughs burgess and merchant seem to be synonymous terms (see the entries quoted above). The Hertfordshire survey distinguishes burgesses from other men by assigning no plows to the former. *D. B.*, I. 135, 135^b, 136^b, 138^b. Cf. Steyning, *D. B.*, I. 17. See also Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, pp. 60, 61.

³⁴ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 196 ff. Here, as in *Township and Borough*, Maitland's thesis was primarily concerned with the borough as the possible descendant of a village community. Although, however, he naturally emphasized vestiges of a primitive agricultural economy, he by no means intended to deny the importance of the mercantile element. See the very suggestive discussion of some of these points by Mr. H. W. C. Davis in the *Quarterly Review*, CVIII. 54 ff.

earn his livelihood by trading more frequently than by plowing, but he held his property by burgage tenure—a system which even Maitland saw as a product of the mercantile spirit.³⁵

Furthermore, though Domesday shows the king or his officials normally vested with political power, signs of communal privilege are by no means wanting. Peculiar responsibilities for geld or military service, and the possibility that Exeter, London, York, and Winchester already had the right of granting their taxes, point to special bargains between burgesses and king.³⁶ Such an agreement, we know, had been made at Dover, where the citizens annually owed, in return for various exemptions, twenty ships with their crews for fifteen days' service; and similar arrangements probably prevailed at Sandwich, Romney, Hythe, and Maldon.³⁷ Some measure of financial autonomy at least was enjoyed at Northampton, where the burgesses farmed the borough from the sheriff.³⁸ Many customs regarding tolls and forfeitures, such as were later prominent in municipal charters, had already come to be recognized.³⁹ In several places the burgesses either owned or administered property as a community.⁴⁰

³⁵ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 198, and *Township and Borough*, p. 72. Mr. Hemmeon (*Burgage Tenure*, p. 163) seems to hold that this tenure was a relic of some primitive system preserved in the borough but elsewhere destroyed by the manorialization of the countryside. But where is the evidence for such a primitive system? Domesday, it is true, occasionally tells of peasants holding by a money rent (*censores, gablatores*), but they were very few and may well have been rural colonists like the *hospites*, who are specifically described in several entries (see Round, in *Vict. Hist. Herefordshire*, I. 293, and Tait, in *Vict. Hist. Shropshire*, I. 302), and who formed a characteristically new class in eleventh-century Europe (Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, p. 82; C. Stephenson, "The Origin and Nature of the *Taille*", shortly to appear in the *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*). On the general significance of burgage tenure in Flanders, see Pirenne, pp. 202 ff.; Des Marez, *Étude sur la Propriété Foncière dans les Villes du Moyen-Âge et spécialement en Flandre* (Ghent, 1898).

³⁶ C. Stephenson, "The Aids of the English Boroughs", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV. pp. 457 ff.

³⁷ Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, p. 81, and *An Eleventh Century Inquisition of St. Augustine's Canterbury*, in *British Academy Records of Social and Economic History*, IV. (London, 1920), pt. II., pp. xxiii, xxiv.

³⁸ *D. B.*, I. 219.

³⁹ Thus Dover, *D. B.*, I. 1: "Quicunque manens in villa assiduus reddebat regi consuetudinem quietus erat de theloneo per totam Angliam." Here we unquestionably find a communal privilege, restricted to those who, according to the later phrase, were in scot and lot of the borough. Cf. Torksey, *D. B.*, I. 337. Other borough customs are conveniently listed in Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, pp. 82 ff.

⁴⁰ See Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs*, pp. 87 ff., and in *Brit. Acad. Records*, IV., pt. II., p. xxv. Maitland (pp. 200 ff.) was anxious to minimize the com-

These facts, it is submitted, prove that some of the familiar traits of the twelfth-century borough had already made their appearance in local usage. The natural conclusion would be that they were the first effects of a commercial revival that had begun in the Anglo-Saxon period, but which, greatly stimulated by the Norman Conquest, showed its full force under the Angevin kings. The sea trade that is quite casually mentioned in Domesday⁴¹ probably had its dim beginnings in the tenth century, when society had recovered from the paralyzing shock of the Danish invasions, and when the first scanty references to professional traders made their appearance in the records.⁴² That some part of the economic awakening was indirectly due to those invasions can not be doubted, but that either the original Vikings or their opponents founded mercantile towns it is extremely hard to believe, though they did construct boroughs.

Among modern writers on English history the most serious rival to the ideas set forth above is still the good old doctrine of Georg von Maurer. *Markgenossenschaft* is no longer a fashionable expression, but so long as Anglo-Saxon England is pictured as a mosaic of self-governing communities, the well-worn remark of Stubbs, that the borough was "simply a more strictly organized form of township", will continue to be sufficient.⁴³ On the other hand, one who holds with M. Pirenne that an eighth-century Arcadia should not be constructed from thirteenth-century material will demand a less romantic explanation.

munal element in the Domesday boroughs because it had been cited as a vestige of the primitive village community. If, however, this communal element was new, the result of an incipient economic revolution, Domesday may be said to support, rather than to weaken, Maitland's contention.

⁴¹ Compare particularly the entries, for Canterbury, Pevensey, Arundel, Guildford, and Chester. *D. B.*, I. 2, 20^b, 23, 33, 262^b.

⁴² See the references listed in Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II. 493 ("Handel", 14-17).

⁴³ *Constitutional History of England* (Oxford, 1903), I. 99. Cf. Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 398 ff. It is this idea of the town's development out of the self-governing village that M. Petit-Dutaillis thinks has been rejected by modern scholars "in too absolute a fashion" (*Studies*, I. 75); and yet he refuses to be convinced by Vinogradoff's argument that such a village had existed (*ibid.*, p. 27). For the latest enunciation of the same theory, see David Murray, *Early Burgh Organization in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1924), I. 599. "The history of Glasgow shows that in considering the origins of burghs it must be kept in view that organized and probably self-governing communities existed long prior to the appearance of what we know as burghs, and it may be reasonably assumed that the burgh was a development or modification of an older type."

The medieval English town was called a borough. The name was old, but the thing was new. Where the town grew had perhaps stood an ancient royal fortress, perhaps not. Its site may have been a simple village, a cross-roads market, a fishermen's haven, or a cow-pasture. But neither wall nor court, neither king's peace nor toll-gate, neither kine nor herring, possessed the infallible charm of attracting an urban population. For that a more potent magic was required—European commerce.

CARL STEPHENSON.

RETROSPECTIVE REVIEWS: RECENT BRITISH BIOGRAPHIES AND MEMOIRS¹

FOR the history of the last third of the nineteenth century A. G. Gardiner's *Life of Sir William Harcourt*² will always have to be consulted. If Mr. Gardiner has not so great a man to deal with as Morley had, nor so entertaining a man as fell to the lot of Buckle, if he himself is less of a philosopher than the biographer of Gladstone and has been less near the seats of the mighty than the biographer of Disraeli, his work may nevertheless ask comparison with the well-known lives of the two Victorians.

The Harcourt family could hardly have lit upon a biographer better equipped by outlook and sympathies to understand Sir William. As late editor of the *Daily News* "A. G. G." has long been famous for his critical attitude towards British imperialism. It can not be said that he has attempted to force his view upon the reader, but he has allowed his actor many chances to forecast the outcome of imperialism, and he is inclined to suggest that recent history has abundantly justified that forecast.

In two respects he deserves well of the historian. With careful economy he has made excerpts from letters to reveal Harcourt as he lived and jested, as he pounded the table and fell upon the Opposition. We have here brought before us not one of the great figures of English history but a House of Commons man, one of the best of them, a man who liked to fancy that he belonged to the eighteenth century but was more Victorian than he knew, a fine type of the old Whig adapting himself, under the stress of political exigencies, to the Newcastle programme and modern radicalism, a partizan to whom Liberalism was patriotism. And secondly, Gardiner has been at great pains to answer those questions which the historian is prone to ask. We have suffered of late, since the demand for biography became insistent, from the biographer-relative, who, because he alone has

¹ Books of like character which have already been reviewed in this journal during the last five years are: *Margot Asquith, an Autobiography*, XXVI. 525; J. H. Morgan, *John Viscount Morley*, XXX. 822; John Buchan, *Lord Minto*, XXX. 824; Lady Gwendolen Cecil, *Life of Robert Marquis of Salisbury* (first two volumes), XXXI. 134; Viscount Grey of Fallodon, *Twenty-Five Years*, XXXI. 323; J. A. Spender, *The Public Life*, XXXI. 325; G. P. Gooch, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, XXXI. 780.

² A. G. Gardiner, *The Life of Sir William Harcourt* (London, Constable, 1923, two volumes, pp. xi, 608, 670).

access to the letters, can not be dismissed lightly, but who fails in many instances to tell that which the historian is most anxious to know, and which could often be told if the biographer had only an understanding of the period with which he is dealing. Here Mr. Gardiner does not fail us, he has not been content with his memory of events but has taken the trouble to master the history of his period and to examine the problems involved. And further he has been careful to include, even at the risk of inserting passages dull to the casual reader, those documents that have to do with constitutional development and change.

Upon several episodes in British history the book gives us new knowledge. We learn a bit more about the break of Chamberlain with Gladstone in 1886. Up to that time Harcourt and Chamberlain had been close friends, and the correspondence between them not only serves to explain the clash between Chamberlain and Gladstone but gives us, for the first time, the history of Harcourt's well-meant efforts in the Round Table conferences to woo Chamberlain back into the party. No doubt J. L. Garvin, when he brings out the authorized life of Chamberlain, can, if only he will, add to our information.

The correspondence gives us some further right to comment upon Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule. Morley, Barry O'Brien, and Bernard Holland have published letters that enable us to see how far Gladstone relied upon the workings of his own mind in turning the Liberal party down the Home Rule road. It was a choice that was to affect the history of Liberalism; a half-dozen major policies of the party were put off for an effort to give the Irish a parliament, an effort that was to prove unavailing. Much was at stake in that autumn of 1885 and one can not wonder that Hartington and Chamberlain, as others, believed that they should be called into counsel; that not all the reflection and examination of constitutions should be done at Hawarden; that the Liberal party was greater even than its leader. Harcourt was as much slighted as the others but he was a good party man above all and followed, however reluctantly—for he was never interested in Ireland—the lead of Hawarden, not without writing letters that add to the story.

On no subject does Gardiner help us more than on Victoria. Those letters from the queen which Buckle published in his *Life of Disraeli*, and the larger body of them recently brought out, give us a much clearer notion of the queen and her part in politics and of her aggressiveness in foreign policy. Blunt, long ago, in his diary had

sensed the queen's tendency, and Harcourt's correspondence with her and account of conversations with her confirm Buckle and Blunt. Both Gardiner's text and the appendix enable us to see how careful Gladstone and Harcourt were in keeping the queen within bounds. Like Disraeli, Harcourt knew how to deal with the queen and, if he did not lay it on with a trowel, understood how to inquire about the family. But he was a constitutionalist, and history will give him a place among those Victorians who had to stand firm in the last skirmishes between Cabinet and Crown.

Campbell-Bannerman³ will be mentioned in history for his South African settlement and possibly for another reason: he was the first political figure brought up in the Victorian and more particularly in the Gladstonian tradition who not only foresaw but was sympathetic with the new social-radical Liberalism.⁴ His story is unusual even in the multicolored variety of English political life. Put down generally as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, he hewed with such effect at the War Office and drew so well as chief secretary for Ireland that he had won an assured position in politics when Chamberlain's South African policy led him into sharp issue with the business imperialism of the late 'nineties. His allusion during the fag-end of the Boer War to "methods of barbarism", daringly repeated when it shocked the mood of the time, was believed to have finished his political career. It proved to be his making; and his consistency, his doggedness, and his Scottish caution in the years that followed left him *per varios casus* at length undisputed leader of his party and heir to No. 10 Downing Street.

This biography is also important on account of its author, who was for years the editor of the old green *Westminster* and thus the dean of liberal journalism. His "Notes of the Day" upon the second or third page of that afternoon authority were read, from the 'nineties to the War, by almost every political family in London of whatever complexion. They were written by a man accustomed to spend his Sunday afternoons with Campbell-Bannerman at his London house.

Mr. Spender has succeeded in drawing a full-length portrait of Campbell-Bannerman that is more than competent. More cosmopolitan possibly than any other British statesman of his generation, Sir Henry was in politics a "little-Englander". At no time attach-

³ J. A. Spender, *The Life of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*, G.C.B. (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1923, two volumes, pp. xv, 351, 444).

⁴ Morley might be cited as another, but he had by no means the same deep and abiding interest from youth to old age in the problems of poverty and social reform.

ing himself to that still small circle called curiously the "great world" of society, he never took on the color of that class nor assimilated their tradition that the business of British politics was with the proper and brilliant development of the pawns on the European chess-board. He examined the Irish question unswayed by the prejudices of his contemporaries or by those political necessities that brought his leader suddenly around, and saw farther ahead in respect to it than most of the wise of his day. Perhaps it was his political gift that, while others were deriving their politics from the past, he was considering what the future would bring forth.

Would that Spender had seen fit to tell us more, would that he had shown us more of Sir Henry's correspondence during the years that saw the rise of Liberal Unionism, would that he had dared to share with us Sir Henry's racy and lively judgments upon his colleagues and opponents. To withhold them is not the new manner.⁵

The long involved cross-play between Campbell-Bannerman and Rosebery is presented as well as it is possible for an author who was refused Rosebery's side of the correspondence. No doubt many more letters will have to find their way into print before it will be possible to pronounce lastly upon the deeds of Rosebery, but Spender's account and that of Gardiner, between them, give us some clues as to the Laird of Dalmeny both when he was prime minister and when he plowed his "lonely furrow". Certainly he was not a leader, unless possibly in foreign policy, where his whole conception ran counter to what Liberalism had stood for. When Morley, Acland, and others preferred him as Gladstone's successor to the old war-horse of Liberalism, Harcourt, they probably had no notion of what aid they were affording to the imperialists. While Conservatism under Chamberlain was running after expansion, Liberalism was to lose its way, split its forces, and fail of exerting weight against the tendencies of the time. Not until Liberalism fell away from Rosebery or he from it, not until it gathered its forces round Campbell-Bannerman, did it find its way again.

Perhaps history will inquire why Campbell-Bannerman so lightly allowed Grey, in 1906, to go ahead with the military arrangement with France. That arrangement, which was to involve Britain more

⁵ It would be a satisfaction to have Sir Henry's comments upon Joseph Chamberlain. Historians are going to have a hard time to reconstruct that vivid personality, because those who came under his spell remained bewitched, and those who resisted often misjudged him, imagining him an arch-conspirator, which he was not. But more than Beaconsfield he gave the push to that modern British imperialism which will no doubt be minutely examined by students of the backgrounds of the late war.

and more in bonds of "honor", was confided only to the prime minister and to Asquith and Haldane, who with Grey had been the Liberal Imperialists of the Boer War, and who were now intrenched in the strong places of the Cabinet. Sir Henry had had trouble enough earlier with those three and should have been wary of giving them a free hand in the most important of foreign policies without consulting at all a Cabinet that was "blue-water" by a considerable majority. This lapse Spender does not offer to explain nor indeed even recognize. From his other writings⁶ it may be suspected that Spender would say that by 1906 Sir Henry could have done nothing else than to draw close to France. It may be suggested that at the time Sir Henry's mind was occupied with other matters, especially with the illness of his wife.⁷

Blunt's diary⁸ is one of the most interesting that could fall into the hands of a reader of recent British history. A man of unlimited curiosity, who had the gift of finding out from whatever man he met what that man could tell and who, when his prejudices were not involved, had a shrewd understanding of character, he was fortunate in being a Sussex squire of lands "my own inherited", who could meet and talk with whom he wished and say and do—short of felony—what he most desired. His jottings will find a place, as would have been his wish, not far below those of Evelyn, of Haydon, and of Greville.

They will have to be used with as much caution as Greville. At least three-fourths of the political stories that fly around clubs are wholly or partly wrong; Greville put most of them down and Blunt has done the same, but owing to the multiplication of newspapers and memoirs he will be more easily brought to book.

His own record offers the reader the chance to make the proper discounts. Blunt obviously deceived himself about the opinions of

⁶ Spender has recently published *The Political Life*, in two volumes packed with acute observation upon the tendencies of the last thirty years in Britain. He has an extraordinary gift for seeing historical processes at work in his own time, for seeing those processes in relation to men and men in relation to them.

These volumes, which have been reviewed in the *American Historical Review* (XXXI, 325), should be read as a supplement to some of Wells's novels, those novels which deal with the growth of suburbanism and the march of the middle classes upon politics and society.

⁷ Furthermore Sir Henry had been forced in making up his Cabinet to deal with Grey, Asquith, and Haldane as a triumvirate, who had attempted to push him into the upper house and who were prepared to stand together. Sir Henry was in a difficult position but surely he could have insisted that the military convention with France should be submitted to the Cabinet.

⁸ W. S. Blunt, *My Diaries, being a Personal Narrative of Events, 1888-1914* (London, Martin Secker, 1919, 1920, two volumes, pp. x, 512, 511).

others. Of intense convictions that demanded utterance, he easily assumed that pleasant words from friends, who were perhaps unwilling to discuss controversial subjects with him, meant essential agreement. He persuaded himself, for example, that he was bringing his friend Winston Churchill around to his own anti-imperialism and was destined of course to disillusionment. Further he was inclined to judge men from passing phrases that might be no more than the expression of a fleeting idea. And, although trying at all times to tell the truth, he was incapable of being fair to those of another outlook, to imperialists in particular, not only unfair, but prone to imagine any vain thing about them. As to such figures as Cromer and Kitchener he was utterly unreasoning in his judgments. He was hardly less censorious of some of those of his own outlook. Harcourt and Morley he could barely tolerate, not only because they were Liberals, and there was to him something underbred about Liberalism, but because those men, realizing perhaps the futility of forcing their opinion upon a generation that would have none of it, were unwilling to go as far as he. Sussex squires can be more daring in utterance than politicians who have given hostages to the public.

Nevertheless Blunt was right about many things and ahead of his time. Twenty years before Gallipoli he saw that Britain was driving Turkey into the arms of Germany. He blamed the ignorance and want of imagination of Grey and, possibly fifty years from now or in even less time, Englishmen will admit that they paid dearly for his policy, however well-intentioned and high-minded. Blunt hated Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, and already Rhodes is beginning to be a less heroic figure⁹ and the cult of Chamberlain is fading a little in favor of other cults. Yet Blunt failed to realize either the sincerity of Rhodes or the imagination of Chamberlain.¹⁰

Perhaps historians will look chiefly to Blunt for his records of lunches at Mount Street and after-dinner conversations at New-buildings, yes, and for his progresses, like those of Evelyn, among his cousins and kind in the country. That he gave away his friends has shocked England in this generation but will be forgotten in another. No doubt Earl Balfour was surprised to find that quiet

⁹ There is a great deal of the inside of British politics in Blunt's records, especially in the second volume. He was on good terms with Redmond and Dillon and the Irish party, he was in constant communication with his cousin George Wyndham during the Conservative régime up to 1906, and afterwards too, and saw much of Winston Churchill during the years of Liberal government. Hence Blunt will always be one of the books for the student of pre-war British policies. But he will find it a problem to extract the truth from the gossip.

¹⁰ See, e.g., St. Loe Strachey in *The Adventure of Living*, pp. 299-310.

talks of his with George Wyndham as they walked home together from the Commons have found their way into the record of an old gossip. No doubt Hilaire Belloc was less than pleased to see his aspiration for a peerage set down in print. Belloc was hardly careful enough in making his friends of the men of the Sussex weald.

Blunt, like Henry Adams, had a right by birth to expect a political career. He saw friends rise easily to ambassadorships and cabinet posts, and, if disappointed about himself,¹¹ accepted failure more lightly than Adams because he was so nearly a Mohammedan. Like Adams he was concerned about the state of the world, but unlike him sought no key to history. If Adams was an amateur in architecture and old French poetry, Blunt was no less in Arab horses and modern English poetry. Adams wrote history, a form of art that has always to be retouched, Blunt a few poems that should for a time endure the weather. Both by their memoirs made a final bid for immortality and may attain thereunto, at least among those few who take down old books and look them over.

The letters of George Wyndham¹² have at least three uses. They tell us something of the circumstances under which the Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903 was passed,¹³ and prove how a Conservative was stirred from his base by knowledge of Ireland and moved at his own political peril to strive in her interest. The letters give, secondly, a reflection of the country group that was loyal to Balfour, that followed him in his middle position about tariff reform, and that later backed him up in fighting the Education Bill, the Licensing Act, and the Veto Bill. In the third place, the letters afford an excellent picture of the best sort of upper-class family life. One of the most charming figures of his time, Wyndham was a hunting squire, interested as well in art, in literature, and literary men. He played at politics because his kind did—political success came easily to them—and he played that game according to the best public-school rules, until it became in his generous mind more than a game, a field of battle upon which great causes were to be striven for, the strengthening of imperial connections abroad, and the amelioration of social conditions at home. His letters, while seldom profound, are marked by spontaneity and good feeling, and sometimes by excellent comment

¹¹ Blunt had as much desire as Henry Adams to accomplish political results through his friends and flattered himself that he did so.

¹² J. W. Mackail and Guy Wyndham, *Life and Letters of George Wyndham* (London, Hutchinson, 1925, two volumes, pp. 416, 417).

¹³ But much more about the framing and progress of that measure is to be learned from Wyndham's conversations with Blunt in Blunt's diary. Wyndham was too many-sided to deal fully with politics in his letters.

and even divination as to the course of politics. They may well be read after a rereading of Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga* (less a great novel than a careful piece of history) for a comparison of the upper classes, with their horses, dogs, pictures, and poetry, their real freedom of life, and their sense of obligation, and the upper middle classes with their directorates and pictures, their dependence upon real estate and consols, and their want of interest in the state or in those less fortunate than they.

Mr. Raymond has in his study of Balfour¹⁴ used the recent memoirs, the newspapers, and his own knowledge as a journalist. He has overlooked few of the epigrams about or by Balfour, and he is never wanting in the ability to find pat and terse phrases of characterization. Not allowing his brilliance to run away with his sense of fairness, he has written probably as just an interpretation of Balfour as we shall have in a decade.

Raymond admits that Balfour is an enigma and offers explanation. It will be recalled that when Chamberlain, in 1903, set going the movement for a British Zollverein, Balfour looked over the fence and decided to sit on the stile, and that he is credited by many with having brought upon his party, by his hesitation, the rout of 1906. Raymond urges the thesis that Balfour was deliberately holding off decision on a controversial issue of internal politics, while he was quietly orienting Britain in the new European situation, preparing her against the day of Armageddon. It is an interesting theory, Mr. Raymond may well have more evidence of it than he offers, but it is quite unproven and seems out of character. If behind all Balfour's evasions there was a *weltanschauende* mind planning and bringing to pass through Lord Lansdowne a new policy for Britain, why then of course history will have to reconsider his achievement.

Certainly there is nothing in his record in domestic politics to indicate a man of long views. Like Harcourt, he was an old parliament hand, more skillful certainly, but with the same interest in the immediate issue. To win victory, or at least verbal victory, on the question before the House, to get the best of the leader of Opposition on that particular evening, this seemed ever to be his aim and pleasure. He has seldom seemed enough attached to principles or ideals to look far ahead. In the struggle of 1909-1911 he was completely outmanoeuvred by a party whose leaders cared deeply for certain principles and who were forced to look ahead.

¹⁴ E. T. Raymond, *Mr. Balfour, a Biography* (London, W. Collins Sons and Company, 1920, pp. 228).

He had the instinct of his class¹⁵ for comfort, and possibly that is why he preferred as subordinates—Raymond thinks he did—men of less than first-rate talent, who would get along easily with him. The Wyndhams and the Lyttletons seemed to be the men after his own heart.

Books of "characters" of British politics are becoming plentiful. Those by Lord Birkenhead,¹⁶ by E. T. Raymond,¹⁷ by a Gentleman with a Duster (Harold Begbie),¹⁸ and by Herbert Sidebotham,¹⁹ all of them, deal with much the same group of men, with Lloyd George, Asquith, Balfour, J. H. Thomas, et cetera, but include between them various other leaders and some "backbenchers". Lord Birkenhead has the advantage of having had personal acquaintance with the men he draws, and in the case of a few of the lawyers he has profited therefrom, but in general his studies seem written-to-order and conventional, and rarely reveal that brilliance associated with F. E. Smith. Raymond draws upon a long newspaper experience and a close knowledge of the political chronicles of the last thirty years. He is under the prepossession, not always shared by journalists, that a man's past conduct in politics serves to explain his character to-day, and the historical explanation starts first to his mind. An explanation, historical or psychological, he must have; in every one of his characters he must find a unifying principle. His portraits are done with great artistry, with too much; he is too epigrammatic, too brilliant. He is better in his full-length biographies where he has time to prove and to qualify. The Gentleman with a Duster, wholly unlike Raymond, is a moralist, who has looked upon English politics with the eye of a nonconformist and found them little to his taste. There is some shrewd analysis in his work. The portraits by Sidebotham, who watched Parliament from the press gallery, if by no means the most finished, seem to me the best. Raymond's sketches of Walter Long (later Lord Long) and of Gwynne of the *Morning Post*, Birkenhead's of Healy and J. B. Seeley, and Sidebotham's of J. H. Thomas and Lady Astor deserve mention.

¹⁵ There has been a lot of nonsense written about Balfour's Cecilian inheritance, as if he were close kin to Burleigh or the first Salisbury.

¹⁶ Earl of Birkenhead, *Contemporary Personalities* (London, Cassell and Company, 1924, pp. x, 326).

¹⁷ E. T. Raymond, *Uncensored Celebrities* (London, Fisher Unwin, 1918, pp. 244).

¹⁸ *The Mirrors of Downing Street: Some Political Reflections by a Gentleman with a Duster* (London, Mills and Boon, 1919, pp. vii, 183).

¹⁹ Herbert Sidebotham, *Pillars of State* (London, Nisbet and Company, 1921, pp. vii, 256).

Lord Bertie's diary²⁰ offers an excellent panorama of the late war and much information about French politics during that time.²¹ English political figures, all of the important ones, go through Paris and dine or at least talk with the British ambassador. That ambassador had an excellent post for observation of the whole field of war and politics, but he had little gift of distinguishing the false from the true, of putting down just what people said, or of hitting off their characters. A loyal servant of the government, the embodiment of the best Foreign Office tradition, he always did his duty, even when it came to offering hospitality to queer Labor members over from Westminster. He saw the war go from bad to worse but never lost his faith in British victory and remained at the darkest time *jusqu'aboutiste*. That he recognized the villainy of Sazonov and Izvolski should be put down to his credit by new historians who deal in the day-by-day details of war diplomacy. In spite of its conventionality, the diary is thoroughly interesting; interesting, I think, because the reader reviews the war again, getting much the same information he picked up from the American papers at the time. The stories that proved untrue and those that proved too true pass before him in procession, as then.

Already Repington's diary²² has begun to figure in the foot-notes of contemporary history. E. T. Raymond has made much and wise use of it. It is not too much to say that from now on every historian of the war and of British politics during the war will have to cite the diary again and again. It is doubtful if any other non-official book published about the war from the British angle is as important. This military man, journalist, and diner-out gave away so many people that he has been reviewed sharply in London, and naturally. Those reviews have somewhat obscured the merits of his diaries as historical material. From the standpoint of good taste, it would of course have been better to have bequeathed the journals to the British Museum, as Haig has done, with a proviso that they should not be opened for fifty years or so. It is hard for historians to regret the lapse of taste.

²⁰ *The Diary of Lord Bertie of Thame, 1914-1918*, edited by Lady Algernon Gordon Lennox, with a foreword by Viscount Grey of Fallodon (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1925, two volumes, pp. xii, 367, 347).

²¹ He is rather more dependable upon French politics, if less "knowing" and detailed, than the author of *The Pomp of Power* (Laurance Lyon).

²² *The First World War, 1914-1918, Personal Experiences of Lieut.-Col. C. A'Court Repington, C.M.G.* (London, Constable, 1919, two volumes, pp. xvii, 621, 581).

In estimating Colonel Repington's authenticity a distinction must be made between what he reported as rumor or gossip and what he learned at first hand from responsible persons. A considerable part of his jottings were of conversation with the best-informed people on the Allied side. Much of what they told him can be proved or disproved from the official reports. He had a flair for facts of a military character. Sometimes, of course, he disbelieved what was true. That large numbers of the French army went home after Nivelle's failure, that Petain had to restore the morale of the French army, and for that carefully managed piece of work was later given the *maréchal's* baton, would appear to-day to be recognized history. Repington heard rumors of large defections from the French army but was too francophile to credit what he heard. Nor were his military perceptions sufficient to enable him to realize the shattered state of the German army at the end of 1916, nor was he aware in the midsummer and early autumn of 1918 that the defeat of the Germans was close at hand. The German success of March and April, 1918, he seems to have foreseen, if one may assume that he did not afterwards tamper with his journals.

His gossip is not so important, though much of what he picked up at week-end parties came closer to the edge of truth than many statements put forth by other collectors of unconsidered trifles about the war. His picture of London society during the agony of war may well be compared to that in Stephen McKenna's *Sonia*.²³

As a reporter of those with whom he talked Repington was an old hand and can be in the main trusted. He had none of Blunt's weakness for believing that the other man shared his "views". He had a knack of picking out essentials and a gift of so quoting a man as to give a notion of the workings of his mind. The voluminous literature about Lloyd George—the five-foot shelf is not far away—offers nothing more helpful in understanding the play of that Welshman's mind than a single conversation with Repington about a fundamental problem of the war. Foch's sharp Gascon sentences as he sets forth the secret of his military successes to this military critic give us more notion of that spirit and temperament in one paragraph than many magazine articles. It is in this kind of interview that Repington best serves the historian. What the leaders were thinking of as the war went on, what they feared or hoped, what reasons they gave themselves and others for what they were doing, what public

²³ The anonymous attack upon Repington by the righteous Gentleman with a Duster in his *Glass of Fashion* tells us nothing by way of discounting Repington that might not be readily understood by any discerning reader.

opinions they dreaded, these are the questions Repington helps to answer, and the answers are useful.

That he had little subtlety, that he saw things in black and white, that, a thorough-going "westerner", he believed the war must be won by attrition and was willing to see the butcher's bill paid, that he expected Britain to go on indefinitely supplying millions of men to the Western front, that the morale of the peoples behind the armies seemed to figure little with him as an element in the situation, all this goes without saying of a man whose outlook was that of the Gwynnes and Maxses. He was easily a second cousin of the Forsytes.

Those who distrust the competency of the British governing classes, particularly in time of crisis, those who would charge with light-mindedness and irresponsibility the men upon whose decisions the Dardanelles and Salonika adventures depended, will find in these diaries much to support their judgment. It must not be forgotten, however, that Repington watched the outside of things and seldom witnessed the making of hard decisions. He was susceptible to the last enchantments of the Victorian age and seemed to see a few well-born men in a few great houses still determining, as was their right, the destinies of the world, assisted as of yore by fair women, and now, in another time, by newcomers from Fleet Street. There was more to Britain's part in the war than was dreamed of in his philosophy.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

“YOUNG AMERICA”

WHEN a slogan comes to be used commonly by politicians, editors, and diplomats it may be assumed that it expresses a set of ideals and emotions of some significance. “Young America” was such a slogan. Its adoption by an important group in the Democratic party during the election of 1852 was a political gesture that received serious attention at home as well as abroad. Since foreign powers are not always in a position to determine how deep the realities behind a gesture may be, it is the more important to evaluate the gesture and to determine its relation to the national psychology. The purpose of this paper is, first, to describe and evaluate the movement Young America, with special reference to its foreign policy and activities, and, secondly, to indicate the relation of the movement to national self-consciousness in the years following 1850.

The idea of a Young America seems first to have been formulated in a commencement address by Edwin de Leon at South Carolina College in 1845.¹ He observed that as there was a Young Germany, a Young Italy, a Young Ireland, so there might well be a Young America. For “nations, like men, have their seasons of infancy, manly vigor, and decrepitude”. The young giant of the West, America, was pictured as standing at the full flush of “exulting manhood”, and the worn-out powers of the Old World could not hope either to restrain or to impede his progress. If there was to be a Young America, then the new generation, the young men of America, would have to express their faith in the glorious destiny of the country, by seizing political power to hasten the fulfillment of that destiny.

Such ideas were not new. From the time of Benjamin Franklin and Philip Freneau,² Americans, for the most part, had been convinced that their country had a distinctive mission to perform—the introduction of a new and better political order in the world. If there was one idea to which Americans as such could subscribe, it was the conviction that their country, as the only large democracy in the world, had the best possible form of government. Philosophers like

¹ Edwin de Leon, *The Position and Duties of Young America* (Charleston, 1845).

² Benjamin Franklin, *Life and Writings* (Albert Smyth, N. Y., 1905), VIII. 416; *Poems of Philip Freneau* (ed. F. L. Pattee, Princeton, 1902), I. 66 *et seq.*

Emerson and poets like Whitman expressed this idea in terms only more refined than those of popular Fourth of July orators. Our republican and democratic institutions and ideas were held to be unique. The opportunities America afforded made her the symbol of the future and of progress, for she was free from the inequalities and handicaps of the Old World.³ The problem of determining how the historic mission of America might best be advanced occasioned multiple interpretations. This was natural, for a new country in which a national culture had not given unity to diverse regions rarely expresses a well-developed national self-consciousness.

To Young America direct and immediate participation in the affairs of the world was the indisputable formula of procedure. The time, in their eyes, was thoroughly ripe for the realization of the American mission. Success in the Mexican War, easy and cheap, had acted like an intoxicant. It engendered a jingoism which demanded even more grand accomplishments! This urge for participation in world affairs found little expression because the country was absorbed in internal problems growing out of the war.

When, however, the European revolutions of 1848 had been crushed by reactionary governments, there was occasion for action. How could Americans, conscious of their mission to advance their superior institutions, be content with mere example? Despotism needed an immediate lesson. Indeed, if the distinctive institutions of America were to be secure from the advancing menace of autocracy, the task was not only clear but demanded immediate performance.

The year 1852 offered an admirable opportunity for a discontented group of young men within the Democratic party to adopt this phrase "Young America" as a slogan and a rallying cry. The enthusiasm Kossuth was arousing indicated that the country might be ready to assume an active rôle in championing the revolution which that Hungarian declared must shortly break out. The New York *Herald* declared that the cause of Hungary was a trump card which, skillfully played, might win the White House.⁴ Webster, Whig Secretary of State, attended the Congressional banquet given Kossuth on January 7, 1852, being led in part by a desire to repeat the popular success of his Hülsemann letter.⁵ It seemed to Hülsemann, Austrian chargé, that Webster's speech, candidly recognizing

³ R. W. Emerson, *Journals*, X. 84. See also *The Young American* (1844) and Walt Whitman, *Gathering of the Forces, 1846-1847* (New York, 1920), I. 28 (editorial in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 24, 1846).

⁴ New York *Herald*, Jan. 15, 1852.

⁵ *Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (National Edition, Boston, 1903), XVI. 588, XVIII. 502.

the justice of Hungarian independence and expressing a wish to see that independence accomplished, signified an intention to quit the Cabinet and to found his candidacy for the Whig nomination on an alliance with Kossuth.⁶ This was likewise the opinion of the Prussian minister-resident, Baron von Gerolt.⁷

As early as December, 1851, it had been plain that the Senate would be the stage for discussions regarding the expediency of assuming a more vigorous position in the interest of European republicanism. Senator I. P. Walker of Wisconsin (Democrat) announced on December 16 of that year that "the country must interpose both her moral and her physical power" against the interference of one nation in the affairs of another in violation of public law and morality. He maintained that the country ought to be ready, if necessary, to fight for Hungarian freedom.⁸ On January 20, 1852, Cass of Michigan introduced into the Senate a resolution to the effect that the United States had not seen nor could they again see, without deep concern, the intervention of European powers to crush national independence.⁹ Cass, although repudiated by the leader of Young America as an "Old Fogy",¹⁰ could not have represented that group more effectively than by his earnest plea for the adoption of the resolution. The country, urged Cass, must not remain a "political cipher". The world must know that there are "twenty-five millions of people looking across the ocean at Europe, strong in power, acquainted with their rights, and determined to enforce them".¹¹

Although the support of the Cass resolution came chiefly from the Mississippi Valley, Stockton of New Jersey urged active, physical

⁶ Hülsemann to Schwarzenberg, no. 3, Letter A, Jan. 8, 1852, "Rapports de l'Amérique 1852", Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Vienna. Hülsemann was instructed that it was impossible for the Austrian government to maintain diplomatic relations with Webster (Schwarzenberg to Hülsemann, Feb. 4, 1852). The Cabinet in Vienna feared that the United States would be entrapped by Kossuth's schemes (Schwarzenberg to Hülsemann, Nov. 25, 1851). The temporary break in diplomatic relations occasioned by Hülsemann's quitting Washington was healed because of Austria's reluctance to antagonize a power whose desire for intervention in Europe was feared. Buol-Schauenstein to Hülsemann, May 11, 1852.

⁷ Gerolt to the King of Prussia, no. 13, I. 1, 132, Mar. 30, 1852, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, "Washington 1852", Berlin.

⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., p. 105 *et seq.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

¹⁰ *The Lantern* (comic weekly, New York), vol. I., no. 6, Feb. 14, 1852, defined, with much humor and gusto, an "Old Fogy" as a superannuated officeholder.

¹¹ *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., p. 310.

force in behalf of struggling republics.¹² Nor was the measure supported merely by members of the Democratic party. For example, while Seward urged that the moral argument was sufficient for a protest against Russia's intervention in Hungary, he seized the occasion to point out the commercial advantages to be derived from the triumph of the republican idea in that country.¹³

The chief opposition to the resolution came from the Whigs, but they were joined by every Southern Democrat with the exception of Soulé of Louisiana. The arguments advanced indicated that the Cass resolution aroused both sectional and class opposition. An interference with the affairs of Europe would furnish Europeans with an excuse to intervene in our domestic problems.¹⁴ An active foreign policy would necessitate an increased concentration of power in the federal government.¹⁵ The secret of our prosperity and greatness, it was held, lay in our policy of isolation. A departure from it would not unite the country, as certain younger Democrats maintained. Indeed, the sectional character of the debates was pointed to as evidence that the very discussion of a new foreign policy was weakening still further the bonds of union.¹⁶

This opposition plainly came from the more prosperous and conservative regions. Clemens of Alabama appealed to the established commercial interests, picturing a foreign war on "mistaken humanitarian grounds" as bringing disaster to the manufacturing interests of New England, the agriculture of the West, and the cotton plantations of the South, since markets would be closed, and our commerce subjected to seizure.¹⁷ A test vote indicated that the South, whether Whig or Democrat, opposed any change in our foreign policy, while Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana formed an almost solid block in favor.¹⁸

These discussions in Congress, together with the Kossuth excitement, furnished ample stimulus for the launching of the movement calling itself Young America. The greater part of the nerve and energy of the movement was supplied by George N. Sanders. This picturesque figure, a volatile Kentuckian, served from 1844 to the outbreak of the Civil War as a wire-puller and spokesman for the

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 438 *et seq.* Feb. 2, 1852.

¹³ *Ibid.*, appendix, pp. 787, 143. Mar. 1, 1852.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 551 *et seq.* Senator Cooper of Pennsylvania, Apr. 28, 1852.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 531-532. P. Ewing of Kentucky, Apr. 21, 1852.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 551. Senator Cooper, Apr. 28, 1852.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179. Feb. 7, 1852.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 186. Test vote, Jan. 2, 1852, to lay a memorial for intervention on the table.

group in the Democratic party whose battle cry was "expansion and progress".¹⁹ Sanders's rhetoric was that of the promoter of grandiose business projects to be realized by jingoism. At the same time his faith in the liberal institutions of his country and its mission to extend them was apparently genuine. His querulousness and dubious financial operations had alienated him from the older members of the party.

The personnel of the group associated with Sanders was not entirely definite, but it may be said that it represented, in general, frontier sections of the country.²⁰ Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was popularly reputed to be the soul of the movement.²¹ His colleagues in Congress, James Shields and William Richardson of Illinois, were also leading spirits in the group. Others were William Corry of Cincinnati,²² Robert J. Walker, formerly of Mississippi,²³ William R. Smith of Alabama, William Polk of Tennessee, and E. C. Marshall of California.²⁴ But regardless of whether the particular members of the group came from frontier regions or not, it is clear that the group as a whole represented frontier ideals.²⁵ Among these

¹⁹ Sanders did not share Calhoun's opposition to the annexation of Oregon, Calhoun to Sanders, Feb. 3, 1844. *Political Papers of George N. Sanders* (New York, 1914), a sale catalogue presenting extracts from many letters that did not pass from the sale to the Library of Congress. The writer has recently found, in a little known biographical encyclopedia of Kentucky, evidence that Sanders may have played an important part in the agitation over the annexation of Texas, in being indirectly responsible for the famous letter which helped to lose Clay the presidency. According to William Corry, a friend of Sanders, he organized a meeting at Ghent, Ky., during the campaign of 1844, which passed resolutions favoring the annexation of Texas, and appointed him chairman of a committee to correspond with the candidates regarding their respective positions on that question. Clay's Raleigh Letter, Corry says, was in response to a query from Sanders's committee. *Biographical Encyclopedia of Kentucky of the Dead and Living Men of the Nineteenth Century* (Cincinnati, 1878), p. 538.

²⁰ John L. O'Sullivan, T. de Witt Reilly, and Tammany Hall represented an Eastern group closely associated with Young America.

²¹ In his speech at the Congressional banquet in Kossuth's honor Douglas made a pompous and bombastic speech defying the crowned heads of Europe, at the same time declaring himself willing, under certain circumstances, to use military force to secure Hungarian and Irish self-determination. *New York Herald*, Jan. 10, 1852.

²² In Cincinnati the *Nonpareil* represented Young American sentiment.

²³ Walker had suggested the possible desirability of an alliance of the United States and England against autocracy, at a Kossuth dinner at Southampton, England, which he attended as American consul. Hülsemann to Schwarzenberg, no. 31, Nov. 17, 1851.

²⁴ These men were spokesmen for Young America in the House of Representatives.

²⁵ The advocacy of homestead legislation was an example of this tendency. George Evans had named his paper devoted to furthering homestead legislation

was the typically frontier interest in the future development of capitalism. "Great, powerful and rich as are the United States", said Marshall, "they must become greater, more powerful, more rich."²⁶ The *Democratic Review*, which with Sanders as editor became the organ of Young America in January, 1852, argued that if republics were established in the heart of Europe, reciprocal free trade, which was assumed as an inevitable result, would enormously enhance our commerce and provide markets for surplus produce.²⁷ Naïve indeed were these candid admissions. At times, however, they were veiled with idealistic sentiments. The general American conviction of a mission to extend free institutions, and thus to promote a better world order, was remembered and appealed to. It is significant that these idealistic sentiments, bombastically and pompously expressed, were as genuine elements of American self-consciousness as the materialistic ones linked with them.

This materialistic aspect of Young America was most ably expressed by Pierre Soulé during the Senate debates on Cass's resolution criticizing Russian intervention in Hungary. "What, speak of isolation!" exclaimed Soulé. "Have you not markets to secure for the surplus of your future wealth?" It was therefore in Soulé's eyes "our own interest, and if not our interest our duty, to keep alive . . . that reverence for the institutions of our country, that devout faith in their efficacy, which looks to their promulgation throughout the world as to the great millennium which is to close the long chapter of their wrongs".²⁸ This vigorous plea indicated the sympathy of the southern Mississippi Valley with the programme of an active foreign policy in behalf of republican institutions abroad. Just as the established vested interests feared the disastrous effects of a policy of intervention, so interests capable of potential development demanded participation in world affairs to secure commercial advantages.

The appeal which Young America made to many Virginia Democrats may be explained by this emphasis on a future development of capital. Virginians, conscious of their agricultural decadence, were making efforts to stimulate industry and commerce as well as agriculture. *Young America!* (New York, 1846-1849). The New York *Herald* warned Young America that it must be "up and doing" if it did not want the Free-Soilers to steal this part of its programme. Established capitalistic interests of the East were naturally opposed to "western railroad stock-jobbers" unless they themselves were in control. New York *Herald*, May 20, 1852.

²⁶ Mar. 19, 1852. *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., p. 383 *et seq.*

²⁷ *Democratic Review*, XXXI, 40.

²⁸ Mar. 22, 1852. *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., appendix, p. 349 *et seq.*

culture.²⁹ Hence such Virginians as R. M. T. Hunter, James A. Seddon, and John Daniel of the Richmond *Examiner* were favorably disposed toward Young America.³⁰ The old alignment with the complacent Calhoun Democrats was not an entirely desirable one. The projects of Maury³¹ and George Law's plans for the development of direct steamship lines from Norfolk to Europe might obtain substantial advantages from the programme of Young America. Indeed, Law was the chief financial support in the concrete efforts Young America was to make.

Still another factor in the force of Young America's appeal for intervention in behalf of European republicanism was the presence of large numbers of newly arrived immigrants in the United States, who, for the most part, were friends of republicanism at home. Tammany Hall, with its foreign complexion, ratified, as early as October, 1851, the Young American principle of "no more neutrality, active alliance with European republicanism throughout the world". William Corry, one of the most vehement partizans of Young America, addressed Tammany with a speech which might well be taken as the platform of Young America.³² The fact that large numbers of these newly arrived foreigners settled in the West was another reason why that section was the heart of Young America. The New York *Herald* professed to believe that the Young American crusade for intervention rested on a mere desire on the part of Western politicians to win votes.³³ Although it is difficult to evaluate the degree of truth in this charge, there is evidence that such ambitions influenced in part the behavior of the group adopting the slogan "Young America" as a battle cry.³⁴ But whatever part the

²⁹ See C. H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, *passim*.

³⁰ *Correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter*, pp. 127, 136.

³¹ F. M. Maury, *The Amazon and Atlantic Slopes*. Virginia was expected to profit from newly opened-up commerce in South America (1853).

³² New York *Herald*, Oct. 23, 1851. Corry's correspondence with Joseph Holt (Papers of Joseph Holt, Library of Congress) indicates prodigious activity in behalf of Young America.

³³ New York *Herald*, Feb. 5, 1852.

³⁴ See, for example, Gustav Koerner, *Memoirs* (ed. Thomas McCormick, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), I. 591, 545, 577, 599, 588; T. C. Blegen, "The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants", *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, III. 129; F. I. Herriot, in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XII. 404; William Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner* (Milwaukee, 1900-1902), I. 229-230; Morris Busch, *Wanderungen zwischen Hudson und Mississippi im Jahre 1851 und 1852*, p. 85; Ernst Bruncken, "Political Activity of the Wisconsin Germans", *Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings*, 1901, p. 191; Kate A. Everest, "The Germans in Wisconsin", *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XII. 300.

desire to win German votes played in shaping the interventionist politics of the Westerners in Congress, there was unquestionably a close relationship between the expansive, missionary republicanism of the German exiles and the philosophy of Young America.³⁵

Thus Young America as a recognized political group began its activities in 1852, with special interest in co-operation with European republican movements. Naturally individual members of the group had before that time been active in furthering similar ideas. The leader, George Sanders, had been personally concerned in certain dealings with European revolutionaries and had thus attracted the suspicious attention of representatives of the established governments. Sanders had associated himself with George Law in a notorious musket deal. By act of Congress the War Department offered for sale 144,000 muskets antiquated by the adoption of the new percussion lock. Sanders went to Europe to dispose of these arms to the revolutionary leaders, some of whom he must have met during his participation in the siege of Paris the previous year.³⁶ Before arrangements could be made the revolutions were crushed.³⁷ But the problem of disposing of the muskets continued to occupy Sanders's attention. He frankly admitted that the only possible purchasers were the European republicans, and he defended the right of private citizens in a neutral country to sell arms to belligerents.³⁸ Perhaps this vested interest whetted Sanders's enthusiasm for a new revolutionary outbreak in Europe. Hülsemann, the Austrian chargé, feared the influence which Law and Sanders exerted on Congress "through intrigues and bribery".³⁹ This uneasiness increased when the announcement was made that Kossuth had purchased part of the muskets.⁴⁰ Rumors indicated that, by his order, secret shipments of powder and arms were being prepared in New York.⁴¹ There seems to have been no more truth in these rumors than in those which had disturbed the Austrian representative during the spring of 1850.⁴²

³⁵ See, for example, T. S. Baker, "Young Germany in America", *Americana Germanica*, I. 86; Richard Rathmuller, *German-American Annals*, IV. 92; Julius Goebel, "A Political Prophecy of the Forty-Eighters", *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XII. 462; Karl Heinzen, *Der Pionier* (Boston, 1853-1879).

³⁶ Henry Labouchere to Lord Northbrook, April 23 (no year). *Political Papers of George N. Sanders*.

³⁷ Letter from Sanders to the New York *Herald*, Feb. 12, 1852.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Hülsemann to Schwarzenberg, no. 20, Feb. 21, 1852.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 31, Letter A. Apr. 25, 1852.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Hülsemann caused some nervousness in the Austrian Imperial Cabinet by reports, in 1850, that expeditions were fitting out in New York for the Adriatic and

It is true, however, that Sanders was making rash promises to Kossuth. The Hungarian had urged that the aid of a Democratic government in the spring of 1853 would be too late. Thereupon Sanders vouchsafed his readiness and ability to purchase "the best and fastest going steamer in the United States mercantile marine" and to place it at Kossuth's disposal, armed, manned, and equipped. Kossuth observed that this offer was the most significant one which had been made and one which, if realized, would alone make his American visit entirely successful.⁴³ Kossuth was soon disillusioned since Sanders failed to secure financial support.⁴⁴

The world knew little of these projects, and Sanders's enthusiasm was too great to be limited to clandestine and uncertain channels. His zeal took the form of championing the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas as the Democratic candidate for the presidency. Douglas appealed to a group of younger men in the party who, like Sanders, had not enjoyed the spoils of office, and who were thoroughly discontented with the domination of the Old Fogies. The ritual of the Democratic party had come to be more important than its spirit.⁴⁵ There was need of an evangelistic revival. Hollow complacency was not enough to maintain the party machine intact. Leadership in the party had long enough been in the hands of the Old Fogies. This was the keynote of the articles which Sanders began to print in the *Democratic Review*, an organ long representing the more progressive wing of the party, and of which he became editor in January, 1852. He insisted that the party must have a man for the presidency who realized that our national integrity had long enough been prostituted to foreign governments, that our flag and our armaments must no longer subserve the whims of foreign tyrants.⁴⁶ The "Old Fogy" Democrats, J. C. Breckinridge and General W. O. Butler of Kentucky, and especially Marcy and Cass,⁴⁷ were "superannuated wire-

Naples, with the purpose of inciting the Hungarians and overthrowing the Hapsburg monarchy (Hülsemann to Schwarzenberg, no. 11, Mar. 15, 1850, Schwarzenberg to Hülsemann, Apr. 1 and 14, 1850). The intuitions of the Prussian minister resident, Baron von Gerolt, that these expeditions were intended for filibustering in Cuba, proved correct. Gerolt to the King of Prussia, no. 5, Mar. 18, 1852.

⁴³ Kossuth to Sanders, Jan. 27, 1852 (Pittsburgh). *Political Papers of George N. Sanders*.

⁴⁴ Kossuth to Sanders, July 11, 1852. Letter in private collection of Mr. John H. Gundlach, St. Louis.

⁴⁵ R. F. Nichols, *The Democratic Machine, 1852-1854*, pp. 223, 224.

⁴⁶ *Democratic Review*, January, 1852, XXXI. 2.

⁴⁷ Cass aroused the hostility of Sanders because of the nepotism which had kept the son of Cass at his post in Rome when his refusal to recognize the Roman Republic in 1848 had seemed a "betrayal" of republicanism. Sanders

pullers"; living in the shadows of great men, mimicking their gestures, words, bows. Without progressive ideas upon which to base its actions or to attract support, Old Fogyism had been forced to rely on subterfuges, corruptions, schemes in utter antagonism to democracy and the true national interests of the country. The programme of Young America was drawn with rhetorical splendor. Sectional and party discord were to be healed through a progressive foreign policy, which included the principle of American intervention on the side of the struggling republics in Europe.⁴⁸

Everyone knew that Sanders, in writings these articles, had Stephen A. Douglas in mind. Douglas's defiance of the crowned heads of Europe and his eloquent if vague declarations in favor of the self-determination of all oppressed nationalities, together with his liberal promises of patronage, marked him as the natural leader of Young America.⁴⁹ He had denounced the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty as "truckling to Great Britain" and thus won the support of Tammany and the Irish vote. His advocacy of homestead legislation, western railway interests, the Oriental trade, and the acquisition of Cuba appealed to the frontier interest in an expectant development of capitalism.

The connection between Douglas and Sanders had begun in 1851. Douglas had at first great confidence in Sanders's judgment, and in April, 1851, wrote that he was glad his plans were approved by him.⁵⁰ "I profit more by your letters than any I receive", wrote Douglas.⁵¹ In December, 1851, Sanders asked Douglas for money with which to purchase the *Democratic Review*. Therefore the later denials which Douglas made as to any knowledge of Sanders's plans were mere falsehoods. "I appreciate the service you are rendering me and the importance of the movement, and will do all in my power", Douglas wrote on December 28, 1851, promising at the same time to try to raise the money if it were absolutely necessary.⁵²

also maintained that Cass had shown himself subservient to Louis Philippe in his *France, its King, Court and Government*. *Democratic Review*, XXX. 456.

⁴⁸ *Democratic Review*, January, February, March, 1852.

⁴⁹ *New York Herald*, Jan. 10, 1852; *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 5, 1852; *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., p. 70; Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵⁰ Douglas to Sanders, Washington, Apr. 11, 1851. *Political Papers of George N. Sanders*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Chicago, July 12, 1851; also R. M. T. Hunter to Sanders, May 9, 1851, Sanders MSS. in the Library of Congress.

⁵² Douglas to Sanders, Dec. 28, 1851 (Washington), in collection of John H. Gundlach. J. Addison Thomas, a friend of Marcy, informed his chief on Jan. 27, 1852, that the *Review* had been bought by a friend of Douglas. Marcy Papers, 22, in Library of Congress.

Douglas soon discovered the danger in the course Sanders was pursuing in the *Democratic Review*. In a letter of February 10 he reminded Sanders that from the beginning he had opposed the policy of bitterly attacking other Democratic candidates.⁵³ But the March and April numbers of the *Democratic Review* bristled with denunciations of the "Old Fogies" and shouted the cry "Young America". On April 15 Douglas wrote another long letter to Sanders, begging him to give up the course he was following, and emphasizing the injury that had been done by the assaults on the candidates for the nomination. "If these attacks are repeated my chances are utterly hopeless, and I may be compelled to retire from the field and throw my influence in favor of one of those whom the *Review* strives to crush."⁵⁴

The course of Sanders in the *Democratic Review* unquestionably injured the cause of Douglas.⁵⁵ The affair was discussed in the House of Representatives, Richardson of Illinois attempting to prove that Douglas had had no connection with Sanders and the *Review*. But Breckinridge of Kentucky pointed out that Douglas had recommended the journal to the country after he had read its articles condemning the "Old Fogies".⁵⁶ The damaging effect of these discussions, together with other factors, made Douglas's hope for the nomination less buoyant. In the Baltimore convention his active supporters could not achieve the necessary majority, though his ninety-two votes showed that his strength lay in the Mississippi Valley and California.⁵⁷

Although Young America had occasioned alarm among the Whigs as well as among the Democrats,⁵⁸ the nomination of Pierce had a quieting effect. The New York *Herald* considered Pierce a "discreet representative of Young America".⁵⁹ The *Democratic Review* made the best of the situation by urging that since Pierce was a new man, he was quite capable of becoming all that the *Review* had urged.⁶⁰

⁵³ Douglas to Sanders, Washington, Feb. 10, 1852. Gundlach Collection.

⁵⁴ Douglas to Sanders, Washington, Apr. 15, 1852. Gundlach Collection. The *Lantern* cartooned Sanders with a *Democratic Review* banner slaying "Old Fogies", with the "Little Giant" in mortal terror, begging him to stop. I. 20, May 22, 1852.

⁵⁵ B. F. Angel to Marcy, Washington, Mar. 11, 1852; Thomas H. Hyat to Marcy, Feb. 26, 1852; A. Campbell to Marcy, Mar. 12, 1852; L. Shephard to Marcy, Dec. 15, 1852; Thomas Carr to Marcy, Feb. 3, 1852. Marcy Papers, 22.

⁵⁶ *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., appendix, pp. 299, 420, 711-714.

⁵⁷ Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*, p. 206.

⁵⁸ New York *Herald*, Mar. 25, 1852; Edward Stanley in the House of Representatives, June 14, 1852. *Cong. Globe*, 32d Cong., 1 sess., appendix, p. 707.

⁵⁹ New York *Herald*, June 10, 1852.

⁶⁰ *Democratic Review*, XXX. 491.

During the summer Douglas, in campaigning for Pierce, appealed to the Young American sentiment.⁶¹ Edmund Burke succeeded in persuading Dr. Hebbe and a Mr. Flinchmann, both influential among the German population, to campaign for Pierce. "The grand ideas which are the most potent in the election", Burke wrote to Pierce, "are sympathy for the liberals of Europe, the expansion of the American republic southward and westward, and the grasping of the magnificent purse of the commerce of the Pacific, in short, the ideas for which the term *Young America* is the symbol."⁶² Kossuth wrote a circular to the German clubs and societies virtually urging them to support Pierce.⁶³

Although Young America had not nominated its candidate, the party platform incorporated many "Young American" ideas. This platform advocated "the full expansion of the energies of this great and progressive people", and the *Democratic Review* interpreted the meaning to its own satisfaction.⁶⁴ The platform moreover resolved that "in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democracy of this country". The New York *Herald* looked to the Pierce administration for the promotion of internal glory and prosperity and "the extension of our power and influence among the nations of the earth".⁶⁵ At the same time it observed that appointment of Young Americans to cabinet positions would mean an unsettlement of the financial world, the electrical vibrations of which would be felt even on the London exchange.⁶⁶

The election of Pierce was regarded with concern by those Europeans who feared the growing influence of the United States and the prominence which that influence was lending to republican and democratic ideas. The Prussian minister resident in Washington, Baron von Gerolt, informed his government that the peace policy of Fillmore had ended, and that a new era designed to show the influence of the United States in Europe as well as the New World was about to begin.⁶⁷ The Austrian minister of foreign affairs, Count Buol-Schauenstein, believed that the election would increase popular license

⁶¹ New York *Herald*, Sept. 11, 1852.

⁶² Edmund Burke to Franklin Pierce, June 14, 1852. Pierce Papers, III., in Library of Congress.

⁶³ *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, vols. XVII.-XIX. (1917-1919).

⁶⁴ *Democratic Review*, XXX. 491.

⁶⁵ New York *Herald*, Nov. 4, 1852.

⁶⁶ New York *Herald*, Nov. 18, 1852.

⁶⁷ Gerolt to the King of Prussia, no. 23, Dec. 13, 1852, "United States of America", Geheimes Staats-Archiv, Berlin.

in America, "so incompatible with the good faith of foreign relations". Apprehensive of the American movements against Cuba, he feared "a generally aggressive and annexing policy".⁶⁸ Hülsemann, the Austrian chargé in Washington, expected that while the new government would be sympathetic with the revolutionary party in Europe, it would be deterred for the moment from offering any assistance. This was ascribed to the fact that the relations of the United States with Spain were bound to be precarious because of a determination to secure Cuba, and further, that difficulties with Great Britain and Mexico were not unlikely to develop. A victorious revolution abroad, no matter how momentary, would, nevertheless, in Hülsemann's opinion, change the probable pacific policy of the government.⁶⁹ Yet Hülsemann clearly realized from the Kossuth excitement that the influence of the South would oppose measures which threatened their commercial and financial interests, as intervention in European affairs was bound to do.⁷⁰ Yet the uncertainty in regard to the turn which the expansionist and interventionist sentiment in the United States might take caused Austria to modify her attitude towards this country.⁷¹

In December, 1852, the *Siècle*, published in Paris as the organ of the republican party in Europe, represented the newly elected government as favorable to intervention in Europe. The English press, designating the *Siècle* as the organ of the American legation in Paris, regarded this announcement with concern.⁷² The conservative press in France was likewise nervous. The *Journal des Débats* believed the election of Pierce was a danger sign.⁷³ The *Revue des Deux Mondes* lamented that the death of Clay and Webster left the door open to "la jeune Amérique", and "a violent, perhaps bloody solution" of

⁶⁸ Foote to Everett, Dec. 15, 1852. Correspondence with the State Department, 4, United States Legation, Vienna.

⁶⁹ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 8, Apr. 10, 1853.

⁷⁰ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, Vienna, Nov. 21, 1852, no. 42.

⁷¹ The Austrian government sharply reversed its decision that, as a result of Secretary of State Webster's address at the Congressional banquet for Kossuth, official relations could not be maintained with Webster (Schwarzenberg to Hülsemann, Feb. 4, 1852). The instructions to Hülsemann to make some sort of a compromise did not reach him until after he had left Washington. The conciliatory attitude of the Austrian government was caused chiefly by the realization that "the political and economic importance of the United States are increasing each day, an importance which assures them an influence on the destiny of Europe". Buol-Schauenstein to Hülsemann, May 11, 1852. See also M. E. Curti, *Austria and the United States*, Smith College Studies in History, April, 1926.

⁷² J. Addison Thomas to Marcy, Paris, Dec. 26, 1852. Marcy Papers, 46.

⁷³ Nov. 11, 1852.

outstanding issues.⁷⁴ Young America was regarded as the most numerous and influential wing of the Democratic party, and its "voracious, insatiable" ambition for power and expansion was evidence that it possessed "les yeux plus gros que le ventre".⁷⁵ Émile Montégut observed that since Americans thought of themselves as "patrons of future peoples and the model of universal government", it was not surprising that they had insulted Austria and Russia, and menaced Spain. These were regarded as the advance signs of more grave attacks. The discourse of Cass on the French occupation of Samana was regarded as expressing the jealous anxiety of the United States, and, indeed, Pierce's election might be regarded as a triumph of aggressive passions.⁷⁶ Other French writers were also attacking the expansive tendencies in the United States. One, A. de Moges, believed that the system of American expansion ought to become thenceforward the chief preoccupation of the European cabinets.⁷⁷ It remained to be seen what influence Young America would actually have on the new administration.

The bitter fight between the "Old Fogies" and the representatives of Young America for spoils began almost immediately. George Sanders used every possible weapon to prevent the president-elect from offering to Marcy the chief office in the Cabinet.⁷⁸ Almost every day and night during the early months of 1853 he was to be seen at the Astor House, with various Douglas men, seizing each opportunity to talk with influential citizens and travellers. A political enemy of Sanders, Thomas N. Carr, had reason to believe that in all these efforts he was financially supported by George Law.⁷⁹ Despite everything, including interviews with Pierce,⁸⁰ Sanders failed. Marcy was announced as the new Secretary of State.⁸¹ But the leader of Young America was not discouraged. Sanders publicly declared his determination to obtain an office in spite of Marcy's opposition. A letter to this effect was read at Tammany Hall.⁸² George Law, it

⁷⁴ XVI. 792-793, November, 1852.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 606, January, 1853.

⁷⁷ A. de Moges, *Influence Prochaine des États-Unis sur la Politique de l'Europe* (Paris, 1855); M. H. du Pasquier de Dommartin, *L'Intérêt Européen dans l'Amérique du Nord*.

⁷⁸ J. Addison Thomas to Marcy, New York, Jan. 18, 1853. Marcy Papers, 28.

⁷⁹ Thomas N. Carr to Marcy, New York, Feb. 24, 1853. Marcy Papers, 28.

⁸⁰ Pierce to Sanders, Jan. 18, 1853. Sanders Papers.

⁸¹ This was regarded as a "death-blow" to "progress" by that ardent champion of Young America, William Corry. Corry to Holt, Washington, May 2, 1853. Joseph Holt Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸² Carr to Marcy, New York, Apr. 4, 1853. Marcy Papers, 33.

seems, had committed Pierce to Sanders's appointment. It was also believed that Douglas was among the some hundred friends who were aiding Sanders.⁸³ And so in the face of opposition of Marcy,⁸⁴ Sanders was appointed in June (1853) consul at London.⁸⁵

Hülsemann regarded this appointment as an indication that the government intended to maintain intimate relations with the revolutionary refugees in that capital.⁸⁶ The Austrian chargé assumed that Marcy had yielded in his opposition to Sanders because of the latter's influence with Pierce.

Sanders arrived in London in November. Although he was on good terms with Buchanan, the American minister,⁸⁷ it was Sickles, the secretary of legation, who proved the more valuable friend. This relationship enabled Sanders to make use of the legation seal and despatch-bag for sending personal communications and probably those of his exiled friends, the leaders of the revolutions of 1848. Buchanan was apparently ignorant of the use Sanders was making of the despatch-bags.⁸⁸

The exiles virtually made their headquarters at Sanders's London house. It was there that Kossuth met Garibaldi for the first time. It was there that Buchanan graced a dinner party whose guests included Kossuth, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Garibaldi, Orsini, Arnold Ruge, and Herzen. "Sitting next to Mrs. Sanders at table", wrote Buchanan, "I asked her if she was not afraid the combustible materials about her would explode and blow us all up."⁸⁹ Buchanan was much impressed by the assembly. In reporting the affair to the Secretary of State, he observed that he had been very cautious in his remarks. "But", he added, "they were all evidently much pleased that I was neither ashamed nor afraid to meet them. However indiscreet it might be for me, as American minister, to invite any of them to my house, I should feel myself degraded as an American citizen to have refused the invitation of a friend, simply because men who have suffered in the cause of liberty were to be present."⁹⁰

⁸³ Carr to Marcy, New York, Apr. 4, 1853, Marcy Papers, 33.

⁸⁴ Marcy to Buchanan, Dec. 22, 1855. Private Letters of W. L. Marcy, Library of Congress. See also the *Lantern*, April, May, 1853, *passim*.

⁸⁵ The wrath of Marcy's friends ran high with the news of this appointment. By one correspondent Sanders was described as "too lazy to shave and clean himself and out and out a blackguard". W. W. Benson to Marcy, Albany, June 25, 1853. Marcy Papers, 34.

⁸⁶ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 19, Aug. 11, 1853.

⁸⁷ J. Addison Thomas to Marcy, London, Nov. 29, 1853. Marcy Papers, 45.

⁸⁸ Buchanan to Marcy, Dec. 22, 1854. Marcy Papers.

⁸⁹ Buchanan to Marcy, Feb. 24, 1854. Marcy Papers, 48.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*.

Sanders was listening to the plans of the exiles and doing what he might to further them. Ledru-Rollin entertained the idea of using the United States as a lever to force the revolutionary movement in Europe. At the time of the *Black Warrior* and the Ostend Manifesto he wrote to Sanders, suggesting that the United States pledge its support to the Spanish republicans, braving even the risk of war with the European governments. The reward was to be the expectation that Cuba, out of gratitude and interest, would apply to the United States for annexation.⁹¹

With Kossuth the relations of the American consul were more intimate. On July 29, 1852, Kossuth had written from London asking Sanders whether anything was to be expected from the incoming Democratic administration.⁹² "The European movement", urged Kossuth, "is not only impending, but can by no means be delayed long any more. Not only is the organization entirely completed, but in consequence of this achievement the blow must be stricken." Kossuth insisted that after the great victory of the Democratic views signalized by Pierce's election, aid to the cause of European revolution became a matter of political dignity.⁹³ "To speak plainly, the nomination to Constantinople should tell all Europe explicitly, that it is meant to be energetically anti-Russian and anti-Austrian because American and Democratic."⁹⁴ Kossuth added that almost anything might be done at Constantinople by money. This suggestion clarifies the policy Kossuth was at this time pursuing in Washington. During March and April, 1853, Pulszky, his former secretary, was urging the administration to make the uprising in Milan the occasion for announcing its policy.⁹⁵ Pulszky wished the administration to declare that it would support Turkey in case it was attacked by Russia and aided by Austria. Such an event was expected, and was to be the signal for an Hungarian uprising. The

⁹¹ Ledru-Rollin to George N. Sanders, London, Aug. 1, 1854 (*Political Papers of George N. Sanders*); see also A. R. Calmin, *Ledru-Rollin et les Proscrits Français en Angleterre*. Sanders's coadjutor, Corry, states that "it is quite probable that it was the urgency of Mr. Sanders that pushed Mr. Buchanan and encouraged Mr. Soulé, at Ostend, to manifest the determination to appropriate Cuba at all hazards, and with no respect for national law as hitherto accepted". *Biographical Encyclopedia of Kentucky*, p. 539. The scattering of Sanders's papers would make it difficult to test this statement.

⁹² Kossuth to Sanders, London, July 29, 1852. *Political Papers of George Sanders*.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1852.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*; Corry was being pushed for this post. Corry to Holt, May 2, 1853. Joseph Holt Papers.

⁹⁵ Strangely, these activities did not get into the press. Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 6, Mar. 27, 1853.

prestige of the United States would be greatly enhanced by purchasing as naval bases Kleck and Sutorina. The influence of Kossuth's chargé at Constantinople was offered to achieve this end; it was expected in return that the moral influence of the presence of the United States in this region would aid the revolutionary outbreak in Hungary. Pulszky seems to have had long conversations with Cushing, the attorney general, well known for his sympathy with Young America, and with Soulé, Marcy, and President Pierce. Hülsemann scarcely expected that the United States would be led into such an extravagant project.⁹⁶ Though these schemes had in reality little chance of success, there was reason for the Austrian government, none the less, to feel considerable anxiety.⁹⁷

The spring and summer passed without definite results, but Kossuth's optimism was stimulated by the arrival of Sanders in London in November, 1853. In a letter dated London, November 15, 1853, and published in the New York *Herald*, Sanders announced to America that Kossuth's agent had been openly received in Constantinople. "The Porte made no secret of the fact", continued Sanders, "that unless Austria withdraws her armies from her frontiers, or England and France shall accede to his demand for his guaranty of the neutrality of Austria, that Kossuth will be invited to Constantinople and placed at the head of a strong division to march on Hungary."⁹⁸

But this was obviously mere talk. Two days later Kossuth requested Sanders to write a letter to the United States minister in Constantinople recommending to his good offices the Hungarian chargé, and further to use his influence to persuade the Porte not to delay longer in forcing Austria "peremptorily to assume a clear

⁹⁶ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 6, Mar. 27, 1853.

⁹⁷ At this very time, A. Dudley Mann, well known for his friendliness to European revolution, was appointed and confirmed in the newly created office of assistant secretary of state (Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 6, Mar. 27, 1853). This was generally regarded as a concession to Young America, and as such was disagreeable to Hülsemann and his colleagues (Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein. *Ibid.*). The presence of Cushing in the Cabinet was in itself reason to fear the influence of Young America (Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, Feb. 21, 1853). On the evening of April 10 it appeared that the Cabinet was to be radically reorganized, Cushing to become Secretary of State, Stockton, Secretary of the Navy, in which event "it is a complete victory for Young America" (Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, Apr. 11, 1853). While the rumor proved to be unfounded, it was clear to the Austrian chargé that there was cause to be nervous as long as Cushing, the representative of Young America, enjoyed the confidence of the President. Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 6, Mar. 27, 1853.

⁹⁸ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 37, Dec. 5, 1853, enclosure.

position".⁹⁹ Kossuth continued to urge that the United States minister in Constantinople should turn the scale in the diplomatic battle being waged between England and France for preponderance.¹⁰⁰ In spite of all these efforts, the representatives of the United States remained passive. Kossuth had complained that they were willing to allow the "Black Sea to become a Russian lake or leave it to England's protection".¹⁰¹

At the same time that Kossuth and Sanders were pursuing the uncertain paths of diplomacy, they were endeavoring to equip a vessel to transport the Hungarian leader with such followers as might be assembled to Constantinople. Sanders not only gave advice, but seems to have acted as a sort of purchasing agent.¹⁰² For lack of financial backing the negotiations came to nothing. "God knows", Kossuth wrote Sanders on December 13, 1853, "how anxiously I have awaited a letter from America. . . . I am sick with excitement and disappointment."¹⁰³

But there were other means of assisting the cause of European freedom. August 21, 1854, Sanders's letter to the President of the Swiss Confederation appeared in the *London Times*.¹⁰⁴ It protested against certain resolutions abridging the rights of asylum in that country. Sanders ventured to hope that the Swiss Confederation would not be influenced by Austrian diplomacy. Full of feeling for republicanism, the letter urged that Switzerland, "like our own America, is charged with certain solemn responsibilities". A few days later, August 24, the *Times* criticized Sanders's position in assuming that Switzerland was the sole abode of "true political faith", and that the duty of its people, therefore, was the conversion of Europe.¹⁰⁵

August Belmont, American minister at the Hague, wrote to Sanders that "the virulent manner with which the demolition has been attacked by the whole conservative press of England and the continent, is the most evident proof of its importance".¹⁰⁶ "The republican spirit in Europe is subdued but not crushed, and manifestos like yours can not fail to exercise the most beneficial influence

⁹⁹ Kossuth to Sanders, Nov. 17, 1853. Collection of John H. Gundlach.

¹⁰⁰ Kossuth to Sanders, Feb. 26, 1854. *Political Papers of G. N. Sanders*.

¹⁰¹ Kossuth to Sanders, Dec. 13, 1853. Collection of John H. Gundlach.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1853.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1853. Kossuth believed that if he could have entered the Bosphorus with a couple of vessels on the occasion of the catastrophe at Sinope his reception would have been both enthusiastic and significant.

¹⁰⁴ *London Times*, Aug. 21, 1854.

¹⁰⁵ *London Times*, Aug. 24, 1854.

¹⁰⁶ Belmont to Sanders, Sanders MSS., Library of Congress (no date).

on its dormant powers." Belmont asked for copies of the letter to be distributed in Germany and France.

Sanders had made many enemies before he assumed his position in London, and his open activities in behalf of the revolutionary cause did not diminish them. Hülsemann understood in January, 1854, that Sanders's letters to the New York *Herald* had so displeased the President that he hesitated to transmit the nomination to the Senate.¹⁰⁷ In February, 1854, Sanders's nomination as consul in London was refused confirmation in the Senate by a vote of 29 against 10.¹⁰⁸

Sanders was outraged at the rejection. Blaming Douglas for deserting him, he even intimated that the Little Giant was one of the conspirators against his character. Douglas was surprised at the direction his wrath had taken. "I am not in the habit of suspecting my friends", Douglas wrote, "much less of condemning them. . . . When, in the prosecution of your cherished revenge, you shall ascertain the true state of the facts, and shall know who stood by you, and defended you to the last, you will feel more mortification and chagrin at having written your unkind letter to me than I did in reading it."¹⁰⁹

The exiles in London were thoroughly disappointed at the recall of Sanders. On March 1, 1854, Kossuth, Ledru-Rollin, and Mazzini addressed a letter to him expressing "deep regret and mortification at this untoward occurrence". The rejection of his nomination by the Senate was "a hard and mischievous blow at the prospects" of democracy.¹¹⁰ Kossuth became furious when he thought of the way in which Sanders was treated by his government, and "sick at heart at considering what the cause of European democracy" lost by losing him.¹¹¹ Louis Blanc took occasion to express his appreciation for

¹⁰⁷ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 3, D., Jan. 15, 1854. Sanders continued this virulent letter-writing, publishing in several languages, according to Corry, an extraordinary assassination letter, which urged the murder of Louis Napoleon, "By any means, and in any way it could be done". William Corry, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

¹⁰⁸ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 9, B., Mar. 9, 1854. Sanders's friends believed that Marcy's influence had secured the rejection. Marcy wrote to Buchanan that he had treated Sanders forbearingly, and had done nothing to influence the action of any senator adversely towards him. Marcy to Buchanan, Dec. 22, 1855. Private Letters of W. L. Marcy, Library of Congress. Even Sanders's enemies were surprised, despite Marcy's "conjecture and advice" on the subject, at the large vote against him. N. G. Upham to Marcy, Mar. 3, 1854, Marcy Papers, 48. Apparently Young America was not such a power in Congress as had been supposed.

¹⁰⁹ Douglas to Sanders, Mar. 27, 1854. *Political Papers of G. N. Sanders*.

¹¹⁰ Kossuth, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin to Sanders, Mar. 1, 1854. *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Kossuth to Sanders, Sept. 1, 1854. *Ibid.* Kossuth addressed a letter to the Germans of America on the Senate's action. Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 17, Mar. 30, 1854. *National Intelligencer*, Mar. 27, 1854.

the articles which had appeared in the *Democratic Review*.¹¹² "My admiration rises to affection for you", wrote Victor Hugo. "When you write it is your soul that writes, a soul elevated and free."¹¹³ Campanella, the secretary of Mazzini, thanked Sanders for the favors he had received,¹¹⁴ and Garibaldi added to "a word of affection and gratitude" the comment that whatever it might be his fortune to accomplish for his country would be inaugurated "under the auspices of generous men (sympathizing in soul with my unhappy land) of whom you are the model".¹¹⁵

Sanders's consular colleague in Liverpool, Nathaniel Hawthorne, "hoped to Heaven" that Pierce would do the right thing in Sanders's case, and felt certain that he would "if he follows his nature".¹¹⁶ Soulé wrote from Madrid that "there will not be a true Democrat throughout the land who will not deplore and bitterly condemn that you were not returned to a post which you filled with so much distinction".¹¹⁷

Although Sanders's efforts in London were badly rewarded, slightly better success attended those of some other representatives of Young America. August Belmont, agent of the Rothschilds in New York, and sometime consul-general for Austria, was thoroughly sympathetic with the programme of American aid for European republicanism. Belmont owed his appointment as minister to the Hague very largely to Sanders's influence with Pierce.¹¹⁸ From the Hague, Belmont wrote Sanders that the Crimean War might very well make possible new and successful revolutions. "The day is not far distant, when self-preservation will dictate to the United States the necessity of throwing her moral and physical force into the scale of European republicanism. To prepare for such a day is the first sacred duty of our Government and Congress, and this can only

¹¹² Louis Blanc to Sanders, June 14, 1854. *Political Papers of George N. Sanders*.

¹¹³ Victor Hugo to Sanders, Oct. 31, 1854. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Campanella to Sanders, May 17, 1854. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Garibaldi to Sanders, Apr. 11, 1854. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Hawthorne to Sanders, June 2, 1854. *Ibid.* Corry says that the appointment was later confirmed as a result of the intercession of William H. Seward, Sanders's political enemy. Corry, *op. cit.*, p. 539. The writer has found no record of such action in the *Senate Journal* or in the *Executive Documents*.

¹¹⁷ Soulé to Sanders, Madrid, Aug. 21, 1854. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Belmont to Sanders, N. Y., Mar. 21, 1853. Sanders MSS., Library of Congress. Buchanan also recommended Belmont as a desirable minister if the administration desired to obtain Cuba in a peaceful way. Buchanan to Marcy, Mar. 8, 1853. Marcy Papers, 29.

be done effectively by reorganizing and increasing the navy.¹¹⁹ The sooner we prepare against the contingencies which our rapid growth and the jealousy of the European powers will bring about, the better it will be for us."¹²⁰ But apart from forwarding Sanders's letter to the President of the Swiss Confederation, Belmont's activities in behalf of Young America were confined to the despatch of high-sounding demands to the Dutch government for the release of one Walter Gibson who had been imprisoned in Batavia on the charge of exciting native chiefs to overthrow Dutch royal authority.¹²¹

To some extent Edwin de Leon, who as early as 1845 had defined the aims of Young America, executed some of its tenets in his official capacity of diplomatic agent in Egypt. His dealings with Mehemet Ali were high-handed,¹²² while his protection of American missionaries in Jaffa must have been applauded by Young America at home.

Although the Secretary of State, Marcy, was not a friend of Sanders, he was certainly somewhat influenced by the group to which Sanders belonged. His circular to the effect that no foreigners be employed in diplomatic chancelleries and advising diplomatic agents not to wear uniforms responded to a demand of Young America.¹²³ Marcy wrote to Buchanan that his course in dispensing with diplomatic uniform had gained him great popularity,¹²⁴ but the American representatives in Turin, Paris, and Vienna came out less gloriously,¹²⁵ and had either to compromise with or surrender to European and royal custom.

When Douglas had failed of nomination in 1852, Young America had been discouraged but not daunted. Now, however, with the return of Sanders from his consular post, and the failure of the group to exert any very important influence on the government, there was no longer any reason for making pretenses, and Young America as a movement died out. But Young America, as a slogan, meant something long after the movement, as such, was dead—its influence was registered in the national self-consciousness.

¹¹⁹ A strong navy was a favorite idea with Young America. See *Democratic Review*, July, 1852, "Our Mission—Diplomacy and Navy".

¹²⁰ Belmont to Sanders, August, 1854. Sanders MSS., Library of Congress.

¹²¹ See *Writings of August Belmont*, *passim*; Marcy to Belmont, Aug. 8, 1853. Marcy Papers, 41.

¹²² Edwin de Leon, *Thirty Years of My Life on Three Continents* (London, 1890), pp. 150, 193 *et seq.* De Leon was in close correspondence with Sanders in London.

¹²³ Hülsemann to Buol-Schauenstein, no. 14, B., June 13, 1853.

¹²⁴ Marcy to Buchanan, Mar. 12, 1854. Private Correspondence of Marcy.

¹²⁵ John Y. Mason to Marcy, Paris, Jan. 26, 1854, Marcy Papers, 47; Wm. Jackson to Marcy, Vienna, Jan. 30, 1854, *ibid.*

We have seen that Young America had glorious ideals for the future of the country, and a very ambitious programme for realizing them. Yet the ideals were as vague as they were grand. Ways and means of applying the programme, of extending aid to the republican movements in Europe, were not definitely worked out, nor, apparently, were the serious practical problems that intervention would involve ever squarely faced. It would not be expected, then, that such a movement would meet with any great degree of practical success, partly because of its inherent weakness and partly because of sectional opposition and that of established economic interests.

Thus the movement itself was a failure. Yet the fact that it existed and flourished so strongly for a while is very significant. On the one hand it shows that Young America's grand ideals really expressed the feelings of many Americans. Idealists like Emerson and Whitman entertained the same essential ideals, though they expressed them less crudely. It was probably more true of the United States than of the European countries that its people tended, at that time, to have an exaggerated youthful faith in the glory of their institutions. Some wished to gain still further glory through territorial expansion and foreign trade. Others were especially interested in encouraging democracy abroad. How many of these latter were animated by commercial motives is a question. But such people, idealists and materialists alike, must have found their chief aspirations expressed in the programme of Young America. On the other hand, the fact that these already existing feelings found expression and some degree of organization and coherence in Young America could not but have helped to crystallize and still further develop them. Thus, this movement, though it failed of practical results, was significant, first, as a political gesture so vigorous as to arouse alarm in Europe, and, secondly, as a means of expressing and developing a certain type of national self-consciousness.

M. E. CURTI.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

I. THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS, LONDON, JULY 12-16, 1926

THE Anglo-American Conference of Historians, held in London on July 12-16, was the second of the quinquennial series inaugurated in 1921 under the auspices of the University of London and of its Institute of Historical Research. The conference of 1926 was under the same auspices as its predecessor, but a special responsibility for it rested upon the Continuation Committee, created by the conference of 1921 for the purpose of "securing continued co-operation between historical workers in the United States, Great Britain, the British Dominions, and India". Upon Professor A. F. Pollard, director of the Institute and chairman of the Continuation Committee, Dr. Guy Parsloe, secretary of the special Committee on Organization, and Dr. H. W. Meikle, secretary of the Continuation Committee, fell the burden, no light one, of programme and arrangements, and to them, as well as to their colleagues of the special committee, those who enjoyed the fruits of their exceedingly successful labors owe a debt of gratitude and appreciation not easily to be reckoned.

From every point of view the conference had a full measure of success. The attendance of three hundred scholars, of whom fifty were Americans, indicates the importance which, on both sides of the Atlantic, has come to be attached to this occasion. As was to be expected, London, under the gentle stimulus of Professor Pollard and his associates, displayed its most hospitable aspect, and the weather was calculated to make visitors from the banks of the Potomac and the Charles feel equally at home. Teas at University and King's Colleges, at Lambeth Palace, at Merchant Taylors' Hall, and at the home of the Royal Historical Society, a sumptuous luncheon at Bedford College, a brilliant reception by the Senate of the University of London at the Imperial Institute, and soirées at the town houses of Lady Power and Viscountess Astor provided everybody with a maximum of spiritual and material entertainment. These lighter features of the conference were concluded by an informal subscription dinner at University College on the Friday evening, followed, during the long twilight of northern midsummer, by a *conversazione* in the pleasant common room and garden of the Institute of Historical Research. On the following day a post-conference excursion to

Canterbury was arranged by Sir William Ashley, to whom many American scholars, privileged to have been his students, owe so much for the intellectual stimulus and the inspiration to research imparted by his instruction.

Finally, what may be termed the clinical features of the conference consisted of special opportunities to attend sessions of Parliament and of parliamentary committees, of a demonstration by Sir William Schooling of his apparatus for making reduced photographic negatives and positives and of projecting and enlarging them, and of visits to the records of the House of Lords in the Victoria Tower, to the Public Record Office, and to the library of Lambeth Palace.

The members of the conference were most fortunate in that its organizers had been able to secure the presence of the Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, at one of its sessions. In a felicitous address, marked by evidences of keen insight and broad sympathies,¹ Mr. Baldwin greeted the large audience which gathered in King's College to hear him. Modestly disclaiming any special competence to address a body of historians, Mr. Baldwin spoke of the special interest which politicians must take in history, because it is only history that can judge them. He insisted, however, upon the impossibility of passing a just verdict upon the conduct of statesmen until such time should have elapsed as to make it possible to know not only the motives which inspired the course of conduct under examination, but its after effects as well, and also to compare it with the conduct of other statesmen of the same time. Speaking particularly to the Americans present Mr. Baldwin extended to them a special greeting on behalf of the Government and dwelt upon the importance, for American history, of research in British and European records, for, he said, "every emigrant that has gone over in the last 150 years is the product of the generations before him . . . and you can never understand your own problems—problems of such amazing human interest, that could not have been foreseen by the founders of the republic—until you understand the problems of the stock of these men who are now making your country".

In drawing up the programme of the scientific sessions of the conference the committee set an example which may be highly recommended to all other bodies charged with similar duties. Instead of overloading the sessions with a formidable number of unrelated papers, each session, with one or two exceptions, was devoted to a single subject on which a leading paper was read. This communication was followed by a discussion which, commencing with one or two

¹ Printed verbatim in the *London Times*, July 14, 1926.

prepared contributions, speedily developed into an open forum in which the number of participants was usually considerable and the quality of their contributions gratifyingly high. Such a plan gave an intelligibility to the conference as a whole that such occasions sometimes sadly lack, increased the interest of those attending, and did not too heavily tax the mental digestion even of one who might be endeavoring to "cover" it all for the benefit of absent colleagues.

The conference was organized in eight sections, devoted respectively to medieval, modern European, colonial, economic, American, local, and Slavonic history, and to the history of war. Sixteen sessions were held, three of which were general in character, and about thirty prepared papers or communications were presented, while the number of those who took part in the discussions must have exceeded one hundred.

The first general session, which was also the sectional session on American history and was presided over by Professor C. W. Alvord, had as its subject Recent American Interpretations of Anglo-American Relations, 1848-1865. The leading paper, by Professor Thomas P. Martin of the University of Texas, was devoted to an appreciation and criticism of Professor E. D. Adams's recent work, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*. Professor Martin, while paying a high tribute to the work as a whole, and to its objective quality, pointed out certain important sources which in his opinion might have been advantageously utilized, notably the papers of leading business and shipping firms of the time, and the papers of such leaders as John Bright and Richard Cobden. In the discussion that followed, Professor Adams's volumes were eulogized in the highest terms by various British scholars as constituting a fresh contribution of the first importance.

The second general session, Professor Wallace Notestein chairman, was devoted to a communication by Mr. W. G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution of Washington on International Co-operation in Historical Studies,² in which he gave an account of the historical activities of the International Union of Academies and of its American member, the American Council of Learned Societies, and spoke particularly of the recent organization of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. At the conclusion of the session the conference adopted a resolution expressing its gratification at the organization of the International Committee.

² To be printed in the next issue, November, of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research.

The subject of the third general session, over which Professor A. C. Coolidge presided, was Bias in Historical Writing.³ The discussion was opened by Professor C. H. McIlwain of Harvard University, who pointed out that bias should not be confused with personal conviction or enthusiasm, nor with literary color and style, nor yet with the presentation of a hypothesis, but that it is in reality nothing else than prejudice, often fostered by the demand for quick and easy "lessons of history". In the exceedingly animated discussion that followed, in which, however, only one American scholar took part, the infinite variety of bias was insisted upon as well as its inevitable presence, in some form or other, conscious or unconscious, in all historical writers; in the historians of the "great style" it is the point of view of genius. The greater objectivity of modern scholars was referred to, but indifference was denounced as stupidity. A certain impatience with general conceptions, especially with any attempt to discern in history general laws of human conduct, was discernible, as well as a predilection for that point of view which regards history as literature or as art. The discussion was closed with the constructive suggestion of Dr. G. P. Gooch, that the best way of guarding against bias was to keep constantly in mind the extraordinary complexity of the historical process and to be modest and conscientious in pronouncing judgment.

The sectional sessions must be passed over rapidly.⁴ The section on medieval history held two sessions. At the first, papers were read by Professor L. J. Paetow of California and by Mr. Charles Johnson of the Public Record Office on the Dictionary of Medieval Latin that is being compiled under the auspices of the International Union of Academies, and on the Anglo-American Dictionary of Late Medieval British Latin. At the second session there was a discussion, led by Mr. J. P. Gilson, keeper of manuscripts in the British Museum, devoted to the serious problem created by the exportation in increasing numbers of historical manuscripts to America. The attitude of the British scholars present towards what must cause many of them grave concern was wholly generous. They were anxious, not so much to prevent a reasonable movement of such historical material to America, as to find some means of recording it and of keeping informed as to its new location. The project of the American Council of Learned Societies for compiling a catalogue of foreign

³ A full report of the discussion is to appear in the October issue of *History*.

⁴ Fuller accounts of them may be read in the general report of the conference which is to appear in the next issue, November, of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research.

manuscripts in American libraries and collections was regarded as of great importance, along with some system of registering manuscripts that leave Great Britain, in any solution of the problem.

The first session of the section on modern European history was devoted to a discussion of the Value and Limitations of the Diplomatic Documents relating to the Origins of the War. As one listened to the careful and judicious observations of Professor Seton-Watson, Dr. Gooch, and others, one could not fail to be impressed with the extreme caution with which competent and conscientious scholars, like the proverbial angels, venture upon a ground where beings of another category gambol with abandon. The subject of the second session, the leading paper of which was by Professor Roger B. Merriman of Harvard, was the Study of European History (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) in the English-speaking Countries.

The section on colonial history listened in its first session to Dr. Frances G. Davenport's paper on English Colonial Expansion, 1700-1715, in which she dealt with England's aims and achievements in regard to territorial and commercial expansion in American regions claimed by Spain and France, and which served to introduce the general discussion. In the second session Professor J. L. Morison, of Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, read a paper on Lord Elgin and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, for which he had utilized new material that revealed the important part of the governor-general of Canada in the affair, and the methods of propaganda that were employed.

The section on economic history held two meetings. The first was devoted to a discussion of the new Economic History Society, and its organ, soon to appear, the *Economic History Review*. The second session was devoted to a discussion on economic history, led by Sir William Ashley with a paper on the Investigation and Teaching of Economic History in relation to the Teaching of Commerce and Economics on the one hand, and of Pure History and Politics on the other.⁵ The section on local history discussed the Organization of Local History and the Relation of Archaeology to Local History, while the section on Slavonic history listened to papers by Professor Paul Milyukov on the Influence of English Political Thought in Russian History, and by Professor Seton-Watson on the Secret Treaty of London and Italian Intervention, in the light of unpublished documents. In the same session there was a discussion, led by Professor A. C. Coolidge, on the study of Slavonic history. Finally the section on the history of war discussed Sir George Aston's article on the

⁵ To be printed in the first issue of the *Economic History Review*.

Study of War by Statesmen and Citizens,⁶ and Sir Charles Oman's paper on Cataclysmic History, in which he maintained that the historical process is quite as frequently cataclysmic as evolutionary, being interrupted by happenings and accidents not to be foreseen. There were also presented in this section papers by Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Butler, on Sources for Anglo-American War History, and by Lieutenant-Colonel E. Y. Daniel, on Sources for the Study of the Great War of 1914-1918.

In concluding this hasty and inadequate account it may not be out of place to express, on behalf of American scholars, their profound appreciation of the many services which the Institute of Historical Research has rendered during these five years to the cause of co-operation among the historians of the English-speaking countries, and to express also their sincere hope that the future of the Institute may be so assured as to enable it to carry on, in the same effective manner as in the past, those activities which have now become indispensable to the advancement of historical studies.

WALDO G. LELAND.

2. PEPYS IN THE NEWSPAPERS OF 1679-1680

THE charges brought against Samuel Pepys at the time of the Popish Plot have been carefully studied, and competent scholars have given out various sources of information.¹ Most of the items which the newspapers of his own day printed about him, however, seem to have escaped notice. They add some information, afford further evidence about the contemporary pronunciation of his name, and show his interest in the case to have been considerable. The newspapers I have consulted are in the Burney Collection at the British Museum.

Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane had been accused of sending naval information to France, a charge which amounted to treason. According to the *Domestick Intelligence, or News both from City and Country*, for Monday, July 14, 1679, the two were brought on July 9 to "the Kings Bench-barr in Westminster-Hall by an Habeas Corpus", and were "accordingly bailed out, . . . to make appearance in order to their Tryall upon demand".

The next item, which appeared in the *English Intelligencer*, number 3, for July 28, 1679, gives clear evidence for the pronunciation of Pepys's name. It reads: "Sir Anthony Dean and Mr. Peepe, not-

⁶ *Contemporary Review*, July, 1926, reprinted for use in the conference.

¹ See, e.g., J. R. Tanner, "Pepys and the Popish Plot", *English Historical Review*, April, 1892, VII. 281-290.

withstanding those high Accusations against them, endeavour to make an Interest to be chosen Parliament-Men for Harwich, which is the admiration of all that hear of it."

This rumor Pepys apparently did not trouble himself to deny. The story which appeared in the *Domestick Intelligence* for Tuesday, September 9, 1679, however, possibly because it made Pepys appear in a more unfavorable social light, was another matter. The *Intelligence* printed:

We are Informed that the last week Samuel Pepys, Esq; went to Windsor, having the confidence to think he might kiss the Kings hand: But meeting with a Person of Honour, and acquainting him with his Intent; he was told, that it was strange he would presume to come to Court, since he stood charged with Treason; who its said answered, His Innocency was such, that he did not value any thing he was accused of, which he did not doubt but to make appear at the next Term; at which time it seems his Tryal comes on: And thereupon addressed himself to some other Persons and prevailed with them so far as to be Introduced into his Majesties presence; but however could not be admitted to the honour he desired.

There are two good reasons for thinking that Pepys was much concerned at this report. In the first place, a slightly different and more particular account was found in his papers, and was printed by Lord Braybrooke. For purposes of comparison, it is here printed in full:

Extract from a Paper without any date. Endorsed,—The Coffee-House-Paper wherein the scandalous intelligence touching Mr Pepys.

On Tuesday last, Mr Peeps went to Windsor, having the confidence that he might kisse the Kings hand; and being at Court, mett the Lord Chamberlain and made his complent to his Lordshipp. But his Lordshipp told him that he wondered he should presume to come to Court before he had cleared himselfe, being charged with treason; whose answer was, his innocency was such, that he valued not any thing he was charged with; soe parted with his Lordshipp; but by the favour of some courtiers he was brought into the Kings presence; but so soone as his Maj'tie saw him, he frowned and turned aside, shewing his dislike of seeing him there.²

The second reason for thinking that Pepys was troubled by this report is found in the denial which promptly appeared in the *Domestick Intelligence* for September 19, and again in the issue for September 23. It reads:

These are to give Notice, That all and every part of the Relation Published in the *Domestick Intelligence* the 9th of this Instant September, touching Samuel Pepys, Esq; is as to the matter, and every particular

² *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq. F.R.S. . . . comprising his Diary . . . and a Selection from his Private Correspondence*, ed. Richard Lord Braybrooke, 2d ed. (London, 1828), V. 475.

Circumstance therein mentioned, altogether False and Scandalous; there having been no such passage happened, nor anything that might give Occasion for that Report.

This denial is so fully worded, and so precisely phrased, that one suspects it was dictated to the editor either by Pepys or by his lawyer. Seventeenth-century editors frequently had to retract, but very rarely used terms so formal and inclusive.

The charges against Pepys and Dean were not pressed, and the *Current Intelligence* for Saturday, February 14, 1680, announced their discharge: "The same day [Feb. 12] Sr. Anthony Dean and Mr. Pepys were discharged of their Bayle, the Court being pleased to take their own Recognizance by reason no evidence appeared against them."

In some degree the charges against Pepys had been complicated by the testimony of his butler, John James. James lived long enough to make a somewhat melodramatic confession, if this account in *Mercurius Anglicus* for March 17, 1680, can be relied on.

John James, who was formerly Butler to Samuel Pepys Esq; against whom he appeared as a Witness to a Committee of the late Parliament, making Affidavit that Mr. Pepys kept a Romish Priest in his House, being last week taken dangerously ill, and apprehending he should dye, desired Mr. Pepys might be sent for; which was done by those about him several times, till through their importunity Mr. Pepys sent some of his friends to this John James, who found him very Penitent for the injury he had done his Master, acknowledging that it was out of malice he had sworn against him, and therefore desired his Pardon. After this he received the Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper; but we do not yet hear that he is dead.

This last account did not quite satisfy either James or a certain member of the Parliamentary committee, for we find in *Mercurius Anglicus* for March 28, 1680, corrections of some minor points. Like the retraction in the *Domestick Intelligence*, these seem to have been prepared by a lawyer. Since they are both enclosed in quotation-marks in the newspaper, it would seem clear that at any rate they were contributed, and not the work of the editor.

Whereas there hath been spread a Report about the City, that one John James, who in the last Parliament gave Information to a Committee of the House of Commons, of several Matters against Mr. Pepys, should have acknowledged on his sick Bed, that he had been tempted by Rewards, or other ill practises, to have accused the said Mr. Pepys falsely by a Member of the said Committee: These are to Advertize, that the said John James did on the 11th of this instant March, before several of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the City and Liberty of Westminster, and some Reverend Divines, and other Persons of Quality, Mr. Pepys being then also present, testifie and declare before them all that he had

never been tempted nor prompted to say any thing falsely against the said Mr. Pepys by the said Member. This is all that is thought fit to say of this Matter at Present.

Whereas by the *Mercurius Anglicus* of March 17, 1679, it is reported, That the Information given by John James to the late Parliament, against his Master Samuel Pepys Esq; had been delivered in by him upon Oath; this is by the express desire of the said John James before his death, to give notice, That he never did make Oath to the same; the whole of the said Information being untrue, as (for the disburthening his Conscience before his death) he has sufficiently testified under his Hand, and confirmed by his receiving the blessed Sacrament thereon. Of which he did desire this Publication, for preventing any endeavours of representing his other Errors more criminal, by the addition of Perjury.

ROGER P. McCUTCHEON.

3. THE FIRST REMISSION OF THE BOXER INDEMNITY

THE published documents regarding the first remission of a portion of the Boxer Indemnity by the United States and China's use of these funds for the education of Chinese students in the United States are well known. The questions as to the origin of the plan, the men who were behind it, and the decision to use the funds for education are not thoroughly understood either in China or in the United States.

There were several precedents for America's action. On two previous occasions the United States had remitted surplus indemnity funds to Oriental powers, \$785,000 to Japan in 1883, and \$453,000 to China in 1885.

The earliest suggestion that remitted indemnity funds be used for education that I have found is attributed to Anson Burlingame, American minister at Peking. About the year 1865 he proposed to establish a college in Peking with the surplus of the indemnity which was actually returned to China in cash twenty years later. Meantime, in 1872, the Chinese government itself, quite independently of any indemnity funds, had launched the first Chinese Educational Mission to the United States under the guidance of Yung Wing, a plan which lasted for less than ten years. Again in 1902 the sum of \$376,000 which had been seized by American troops in Tientsin in 1900 was restored to China.

The Boxer Indemnity was on a much larger scale than any of these. It totalled over \$333,000,000 gold, with interest at 4 per cent., payable in installments during thirty-nine years. The American government was of the opinion that China was being burdened with a debt greater than she could pay without financial disaster and consequent loss of independence and territorial integrity, greater too than

the actual losses of the powers concerned. Throughout the negotiations at Peking in 1900 and 1901 the American government urged the powers to reduce the total amount of the indemnity, and stood ready to reduce its own claims, if the rest would do likewise.¹ It was unsuccessful in this effort, however. No nation except the United States has ever admitted that it had any surplus, even though some others have remitted indemnity funds to China as a mark of friendship.

Very soon after 1901 it became known that the losses of American citizens and the cost of the naval and military expeditions sent by the United States to protect its citizens did not amount to more than half of the \$24,440,000 of indemnity which China was required to pay to the United States. Those engaged in diplomatic, missionary, and educational work in China and America began at once to expect the return of the surplus. That this was the real intention of the American government in 1900 is revealed in a statement by Mr. Stafford in Congress in 1908. He says, "I am told by Secretary Root, who was present at a meeting between President McKinley and Secretary Hay to determine this nation's policy in joining with the other nations in exacting punitive damages from the Chinese Empire, that it was never intended that this government should retain this indemnity".

Dr. Jeremiah W. Jenks once told me that as early as 1905 he had talked with President Roosevelt about the possibility of remitting the indemnity and that the President had told him that the plan was already under consideration. Dr. Jenks said that the idea of using the money for educational purposes had been suggested by several different persons, Gilbert Reid for one, but that he, Professor Jenks, had urged that the money be devoted to assisting China to adopt the gold standard.

Education, however, soon proved to be the more popular claimant for these funds. Several events in the year 1906 influenced the project. Harvard, Yale, and Wellesley began offering scholarships to Chinese students. President James of the University of Illinois wrote a memorandum, which was submitted to the President of the United States and privately circulated, which advocated inviting Chinese students to American schools and colleges.² Of still greater importance than these was the interview of Dr. Arthur H. Smith with President Roosevelt at the White House on March 6 of that year. Dr. Smith took it for granted that the indemnity would be returned to China some day, but in order to prevent the squandering

¹ Rockhill's Report in *U. S. For. Rels.*, 1901, appendix, Affairs in China.

² A. H. Smith, *China and America Today*, pp. 213-218.

of the money, he strongly recommended that it should be designated for education.³

The documents published in the series *Foreign Relations* tell of the parts played by Roosevelt, Root, and Rockhill, but make no mention of Hay's ideas. Mr. Stafford's statement, quoted above, is the only published reference I have found to Hay's part in the plan. For a long time I was puzzled to know why the Chinese generally gave the credit to John Hay and their own minister in Washington.

My puzzle was solved when I discovered in the archives of Tsing Hua College, Peking, a file of copies of official correspondence of the Chinese Board of Foreign Affairs relating to the college. These letters contain a fuller account of the diplomatic negotiations than the *Foreign Relations* series. They give us the earliest discussions between Secretary Hay and Minister Liang, the Chinese minister at Washington, regarding the remission, and attribute to Liang the plan to use the money for education.

The first official intimation that the American government might be willing to remit a part of its share of the Boxer Indemnity appears in the first letter of the series, written, evidently, in December, 1904. Minister Liang was appealing to Secretary Hay to help to secure for China a more favorable exchange rate on the Boxer Indemnity payments to all the powers. He mentioned China's financial difficulties and the danger of anti-foreign feeling if the taxes were increased, and, as Hay had always stood for the principle of helping others, asked for help for China. Liang's letter says: "I saw that he was speaking more freely or perhaps not quite so unyieldingly, so I suggested that if each country should reduce the amount of indemnity it would be of great benefit to China's finances. 'If your honorable country would take the lead, wherever the voice of righteousness spread, those countries would rise and follow it.' Hay answered, 'What the Honorable Minister has said is quite reasonable. I will try my best to plan for you.'"

Hay did propose the scheme to the President. Minister Liang made speeches on the proposal. The American minister to China was in Washington conferring with the Chinese minister. Minister Liang's letter reporting these facts was received in Peking on May 15, 1905. It contains also the first official suggestion to use the money for education. "Rockhill says that the President . . . would like to know whether the remitted money would be given to the people or used for some other purpose. . . . It seems appropriate for us to inform the American government that this indemnity should be re-

³ L. F. Abbott, *Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 145.

mitted for the purpose of establishing schools and sending students to study abroad."

Minister Liang's arguments for this plan are that it would furnish a satisfactory answer to the President's question, would win public approval both in the United States and in China, would greatly benefit China's development, would be a pleasing example to set before the other powers which might be thinking of remitting indemnity, and would hasten the action of the American government. There is no evidence that the plan was in any way forced on Minister Liang, or even first suggested by American diplomats.

The next letter in the series came from the famous Yuan Shih-K'ai, who was at that time viceroy of North China. His suggestion was, "China's needs are numerous. Let the money be used first for railways and mines and the profits on these go to building schools". The Board of Foreign Affairs replied to the powerful viceroy that "because of the recent difficulties over the Canton-Hankow Railroad, China's motives might be suspected if she used this money for railroads now".

In a letter received in Peking in November, 1905, Minister Liang reports a conversation with President Roosevelt after the death of John Hay, in which the President agrees to carry out Hay's plan, and suggests that the Chinese minister take the matter up with Root, the new secretary of state. Thus we see that the plan was well started before the death of Hay.

One event which served to delay the project was the discussion by the diplomats of a new immigration treaty, and another was the Chinese boycott of American goods in the years 1905 and 1906. It was not until June 15, 1907, that Secretary Root wrote his well-known note to the Chinese minister in which he declared that it was the intention of the President to recommend to Congress that the surplus of the indemnity be returned to China.

President Roosevelt did this in his message to Congress of December 3, 1907, adding significantly enough in the next paragraph the recommendation that Chinese students be encouraged to come to American universities. Minister Liang wrote later that American opinion generally approved of this plan.

He also quoted an English newspaper as saying: "America received \$15,000,000 from England on an uncertain claim. If America received less than the agreed indemnity from China, England should ask for a recalculation of the Alabama claims."

The form in which the bill passed Congress, May 25, 1908, made it possible for the President to satisfy himself that the money would be used for the benefit of the Chinese people, before he remitted a dollar. Over \$10,000,000 was to be returned to China "at such time and in such manner as the President shall deem just".

There are no records to show that the United States imposed any specific conditions as to the use of these funds. The details of the educational scheme were worked out by the Board of Foreign Affairs. The legation in Peking approved the plan submitted in December, 1908, and the remissions began in January, 1909. The details of the negotiations in Peking between Minister Rockhill and the Board of Foreign Affairs have never been made public. But the published documents ⁴ show that China expressed her deep gratitude, left the time and manner of the remission entirely to the American government, and apparently quite voluntarily stated her intention of using the money for the education of Chinese students in the United States. This was done as an expression of her appreciation of the friendliness of the American government. It was in accordance with the recently expressed desire of the President to welcome Chinese students to American universities, and with the advice of Minister Liang to the Board of Foreign Affairs in 1905, to the effect that such a use would please both the United States and China.

CARROLL B. MALONE.

⁴ *For. Rels.*, 1907, 1908; Tsing Hua correspondence.

DOCUMENT

Recollections of the War of 1812 by George Hay, Eighth Marquis of Tweeddale

THE following narrative is taken from the recollections of his military life written by George Hay, eighth Marquis of Tweeddale and later a British field-marshal. These are contained in a manuscript hitherto unpublished, preserved at Yester House, Haddington, the seat of the present marquis. The latter part of this manuscript, which alone is here printed, concerns his experiences in America during the War of 1812.

The future field-marshal was born in 1787 of a family distinguished in Scottish history. He entered the army, a boy of seventeen, in 1804, the year of his accession to the title and estates of his father, who had died a prisoner at Verdun, being one of the English travellers in France retained as a hostage by Napoleon. He grew up to be a man of splendid physique, later famous as a swordsman and horseman.

Lord Tweeddale begins his *Recollections* by a description of his early training as a subaltern, and relates his experiences with Irish recruits who became furiously drunk on board the small collier brig taking them to Liverpool and had to be kept in order at the point of the pistol. The Duke of Gloucester, then in command at Liverpool, who maintained Hanoverian ideas of discipline, wanted to try the recruits for mutiny, and it was only owing to the young subaltern's intercession and his acceptance of personal responsibility for their future conduct that the duke desisted. On this occasion, as later, Tweeddale acted as a friend to his men, knocking them down when they were drunk, but always ready to bail them out when in trouble. In this connection he tells an anecdote characteristic of his relations with the troops. He had to march them to Shorncliffe in the south of England and noticing a disposition on the part of some to tarry behind, he appointed a rear-guard with shillelaghs to administer appropriate correction on the laggards. When one of the recruits called out to him, that it was easy to make a long march on horseback but that the knapsacks weighed too heavy on them, he dismounted at once, asked for a knapsack of identical weight, and with his brace of pistols and the itinerary in addition, marched the whole way on foot to Shorncliffe.

The Recollections contain a vivid picture of English army life in the days of the Napoleonic Wars. Of adventures he enjoyed his full share. Certain of these were humorous, as his encounter with a brigand chief in Sicily who gave him letters of introduction to the great ladies of Palermo, one of whom, a countess of high position, was the bandit's own sister. Life in the army then was rough but not unkindly. In the Peninsular War, when two soldiers were condemned to death for looting, the sentence of hanging was carried out in the presence of the troops on two other men, who had died the night before in the hospital. We find Tweeddale risking his life by crossing a river under fire to rescue the wife of a German hussar who had been forgotten in a temporary retreat. And we see him going into a campaign with plenty of cases of champagne and claret, which on occasion he would lend to the Duke of Wellington. He was twice wounded and took part in a gallant cavalry action from which he returned, after being reported missing, to be rewarded by the great Duke with a pair of pistols which are still preserved at Yester. His Recollections sketch a hasty view of the entire campaign, without any particular idea of its broad significance or strategy, but with a real perception of the alternating episodes of fighting and drudgery, of marches and countermarches, relieved by fox-hunting, gaming, and entertaining.

He was invalided home from Spain after six years of foreign service. Before his health had been restored he joined his regiment which with most of the regulars from the Peninsula had been sent to Canada from Spain to take part in the war with the United States.

The Recollections are of particular interest to us because of the fine spirit of chivalry shown by Lord Tweeddale toward Americans. During the first half of the last century the slighting remarks of English travellers caused intense ill feeling in the United States. It is all the more pleasant to find in time of war, on the part of a then enemy, and a soldier with as much military experience as Lord Tweeddale, a high appreciation of our army. On the occasion of a subordinate writing to him in a manner disparaging to the Americans he rebuked the writer for using such language against an enemy of whom he ought to speak with the highest respect. And he expressed the wish that prisoners passing through his cantonment, if officers, be accommodated with his bedroom and invited to the mess as his guests, and if soldiers, that they be well taken care of at their meals, saying that he himself would defray the extra expenses of their stay. This letter was intercepted by the Americans unknown to him; the knowledge of it served him later in good stead.

The Recollections contain other passages of real interest. There is a fine description of the battle of Chippewa and of the British regulars, led by their officers on horseback, one of whom was Tweeddale, marching into action only to be shot down by the fierce fire of the "Kentucky riflemen" concealed behind a bank. After the armistice Lord Tweeddale visited the American flotilla under Commodore Chauncey at Sackett's Harbor, where everything "looked like a British man-of-war". He was recognized by deserters aboard from the British navy who grinned at recognizing him. Later Commodore Chauncey told him that many of these had joined the American fleet to escape from the tedious blockade of the French ports. There is a charming appreciation for the cordial hospitality extended to Tweeddale both in New York and in Philadelphia. He describes his return to England in an American sailing packet, and tells of a duel which he arranged should take place across the stern of the vessel, and which was only narrowly averted at the last moment.

The Recollections were dictated by Lord Tweeddale to his daughter, when he was over eighty years of age and had become a very terrifying old man. He had then forgotten to mention the fact that he was himself taken prisoner at the battle of Lundy's Lane under circumstances which reflect equal credit on him and on his captors.¹ This anecdote was related by General Winfield Scott to William Howard Russell, the famous war correspondent of the *London Times* fifty years ago. It is printed in the latter's biographical sketch of the field-marshal's eldest son, himself a man of no slight distinction, in an introduction to the *Ornithological Works of Arthur, Ninth Marquis of Tweeddale* (London, 1881).

Russell had "heard General Winfield Scott, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, describe a scene at Lundy's Lane where a young English officer (Lord Tweeddale), badly wounded and streaming with blood, stood at bay, with his back to the wall, striking fiercely with his sword against the bayonets of a host of Americans and exclaiming 'I will never surrender' till Scott, who by a strange coincidence had captured his brother (Lord James Hay, subsequently a general in the British Army) on the banks of the Potomac, came up and saved his life".

After his return to England at the end of the War of 1812, Lord Tweeddale took charge of his Yester estates which had suffered from neglect during his absence and introduced agricultural innovations, foreign at the time, such as deep ploughing and tile-draining. In

¹ No record of this incident has been preserved in the files of the War Department at Washington.

1842 he was appointed governor of Madras and by special arrangement with the Duke of Wellington, whose eldest son had married a daughter of Lord Tweeddale, the latter became commander-in-chief of the local army which stood in need of reorganization. It was said to be owing to the success of his efforts that the Madras army later did not rise in the Indian mutiny. He retired after six years to resume his agricultural pursuits. He died a field-marshal in 1876 at the age of 89. His portrait as a young man in a gallant uniform on horseback, painted by his friend Raeburn, is preserved at Yester.

LEWIS EINSTEIN.²

I went the following day to Plymouth where I met an old friend who commanded a ship of war and was about to sail with a convoy to Quebec. He pressed me to take a passage with him as the sea voyage and rest would cure my swelled leg. My regiment³ was quartered at Fort George at the mouth of the Niagara river. I accepted the offer. On our passage we fell in with a field of ice, in the morning we ran along it. Towards dark we saw a very brilliant light about ten miles ahead. We made signal for the convoy to follow and made all sail as we approached the light. We saw a very high iceberg and when we neared it we saw a three-masted vessel heaving. We shortened sail and when within a few hundred yards of the iceberg we saw a large vessel under the lea of the iceberg we made towards her. I sat on the stern rail of the sloop, the vessel we saw was a privateer and with all sail she ran right across our head at about three hundred yards. All of a sudden I saw the side port-holes raised sailors standing by their guns, lights and fuses in their hands. Of course when right ahead of us we expected to have a broadside of grape but she passed across us and was soon lost sight of in the darkness of the night. It turned out to be one of the convoys preceding us. We fell in with other transports that had been taken by the privateer and retaken by them by the time we had left the field of ice and got in among a lot of small icebergs.

On the banks of Newfoundland we had capital sport catching codfish as fast as we set down the hook the fish took it. The first bait was a piece of fresh pork, then we found a shellfish in the cod and baited with it. Nothing further occurred till we anchored at Quebec.

I got my regimental uniform made at Quebec and I was sent up by steamer to Mont[r]eal. I stayed a few days and left for Niagara where my regiment was quartered. It was a long fatiguing journey as I was obliged to ride on two horses I purchased at Mont[r]eal, both young and unaccustomed to troops, my leg was still swelled.

On my arrival at Niagara I found my regiment were at Chipawa.⁴ When I arrived I had an attack of fever and ague for the first time. I

² Mr. Einstein is not responsible for the few annotations which it has been thought desirable to add to the interesting document which he has been so kind as to contribute. Ed.

³ Lord Tweeddale was lieutenant-colonel of the 100th Regiment.

⁴ On June 22 the 100th Regiment was holding Fort Niagara, on the American side, across the river from Fort George. A few days later it was moved forward on the Canadian side to Chippewa.

found the drums beating for the troops to turn out and when I had taken my clothes off I received a message from the general⁵ to say he was going to make an attack on the enemy and desired to see me. I returned for answer that I was in the cold fit of ague and that I expected the hot fit in a short time, he postponed the attack for an hour. The General wished to see me when I was dressed, he showed me the plan of the road and the position of the enemy. He said that he intended to march right in front by the road close to the banks of the Niagara to the point of a wood that extended on the right of the road back to the enemy's position. As the General asked my opinion I said I would rather march left in front as the enemy would most probably occupy the wood and if we were attacked and I was ordered to wheel into line the regiment would have its back to the enemy. He paid no attention to my remark, we were attacked as I expected. An aide de camp came to me and said the general desired that I should wheel into line. I told the aide de camp that if I should do so I should have my back to the enemy. I wheeled to the right the gre[n]adiers became the left company. I told off the companies according to formation. We drove back the enemy and the battalion moved round the point of the wood when we got on a plain.

At about 800 yards I saw a bank about five foot high in a straight line parallel to the regiment which had formed with its left on the river. On Guest's Island⁶ there were four pieces of artillery playing upon us. The 1st regiment formed line on my right, the light companies had been sent to turn the flank of this bank behind which the American Kentucky rifle men⁷ were posted. I never saw more than their heads when they fired on us. The attack in front was made before the light companies were sufficiently engaged on the flanks.

The officer commanding the Royals⁸ and myself rode in front of our regiments and when about a hundred yards off the bank I got off my horse to be ready to get over the bank, but the fire was so heavy that both regiments came to a standstill and began firing.

I spoke to the captain of the grenadier company to move forward, he was at that moment killed. I then spoke to the lieutenant he was severely wounded, the second subaltern was killed. All I could do I could not get them to advance. The officers were all killed or wounded and the men suffered very severely. The Colonel of the Royals did all he could to get the men to advance, he got shot in his mouth and became speechless. At the same time I got shot in my game leg that cut the tendon Achilles in two. I could not move they put me on my horse, we retired. There was a zig-zag pailing on one side of the road by which we had advanced—I ordered the men to get over it and take down some of the pailings to let me through. We had just begun to form behind the pailing when a squadron of cavalry came up to us, the officer commanding desired us to surrender I told him if he did not retire I would order the men to shoot him and to fire upon the squadron. He retired immediately. I led my regiment back over the Chipawa creek, and gave over my command of the

⁵ Major-General Phineas Riall, commanding under Lieutenant-General Gordon Drummond.

⁶ Goat Island? The editor has not found this statement made elsewhere.

⁷ Presumably the writer uses the term as a general phrase; no detachment specially composed of Kentucky riflemen was present.

⁸ *I.e.*, the Royal Scots, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Thomas Pearson.

regiment to the only subaltern who was slightly wounded. The pickets were posted and the enemy retired.⁹

After getting my wound dressed I was sent down to the mouth of the Niagara river where I got a boat and crossed over to Toronto then York. I remained a day then continued my journey in a bateau rowed by four soldiers. We hugged the shore as the Americans had command of the lake. We landed on the shore, where we remained all night generally in very swampy ground. We took ten days between Toronto and Kingston. Having no surgeon to dress my wound it healed up at both ends. I rested a day at Kingston and then proceeded down the St. Lawrence in a hired boat and arrived at Lachine. We passed under the eyes of the Americans, they took no notice of us. Apartments had been hired for me at Montreal. The wound cured the fever and ague, but the swamps where we slept the night on the shore of the lake brought a return of the ague. The surgeon set about opening up where the ball had entered and came out, it passed through the tendon Achilles and when it healed the sores joined short by one inch or more from the chafing that took place.

Sir E. Prevost the Governor-General of Canada¹⁰ used to come daily to see and asked me many questions about the service in Upper Canada. I could only speak of my own regiment which I told him appeared to be composed of fine men. Their appearance was better than anything I had seen before in the British army. They had received compensation money for three years and they had entered upon a fourth year. It was impossible to say to what service they belonged as clothes were patched with every color of cloth. The result of our conversation was that after I had been two months at Montreal, Sir G. Prevost said to me that so many commanding officers are returned on leave and do not seem to have any intention of joining their regiments, that he had written to Sir G. Drummond that the first commanding officer that joins the division after he receives the order is to have the command of a brigade to command it till the end of the war. As soon as Sir G. Drummond¹¹ left my room I wrote to Mr Duff who had charge of the N. W. Co's concerns that I wished to see him. I asked him if he could provide me with a cedar canoe and sixteen voyageurs next morning at Lachine to take me up to Niagara. The canoe was ready at the time I ordered and I proceeded to Lachine at daylight and my horses having remained with my regiment I had nothing to think of but the dressing of my wound, I arrived safe at the Falls of Niagara.

On my arrivale I waited on Sir G. Drummond. He told me that Sir G. Prevost had told me [him] to give the command of a brigade to the first commanding officer of a regiment that joined, and therefore he would put me in orders for that command.

The brigade consisted of the 59th, 82nd, 100th, and Glengarry Fencibles and the light companies of the 103rd and 4th.¹²

⁹ Lord Tweeddale's conduct in the engagement at Chippewa is highly praised in Riall to Drummond, July 6, *Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1814* (Welland [1896]), edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society by Captain (now Brigadier-General) E. A. Cruikshank, p. 32.

¹⁰ Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Prevost, governor-general 1811-1815.

¹¹ Meaning Prevost.

¹² Meaning 104th. Drummond, Oct. 10, gives a similar statement of the force as under Lord Tweeddale's command at Queenstown. *Documentary History*, p. 243.

I was obliged to carry two crutches in front of my saddle, this was the cause of my being obliged to use crutches for three years after the tendon Achilles did not [heal?].

My knees also plagued me very much, but it was a great thing for me to command a brigade so I bore with these impediments. My brigade did all the night duties and made the reconnaissances. I never saw a better example of steadiness than my own regiment. I did not think they were so steady in a former action and I told them so. On making a reconnaissance to ascertain the strength of the enemy who had made a flank movement to turn our flank, I drew up the 100th regiment in line with ordered arms 5 or 6 hundred yards from a wood in which the enemy were. We made a dash with a company which caused the enemy to drive them backward to form on the border of the wood. The Major of the 100th regiment came to me and said I ordered the men to shoulder arms but they did not obey. I went with him to the regiment, on my way I met an old sergeant of the regiment and I asked him what this meant? He said, "Your Lordship said in a former action when you thought them unsteady that you would remind them of this at some future time. The men are determined to show you that they will receive the enemy if they are charged as you would like to see." Their conduct was wrong but it gave me great confidence in them afterwards. I placed the other regiments so that they could all support the 100th if they were attacked. Having ascertained the strength of the enemy my object was gained and we returned to Headquarters.¹³

The enemy retired and crossed over to their side of the Niagara river. They moved down opposite to Queenstown on the Niagara river, it was supposed they intended to cross there. I had marched the brigade during the night and occupied Queenstown, nothing further occurred they retired ultimately to Sackets Harbour.

The preliminaries of peace were signed, my brigade was broken up and my regiment went down to Kingstown.

During the time I was there I went down to Sacket's Harbour to visit the General who commanded the army. When I was detained at the gate of the fortification I asked to see General Jackson¹⁴ and sent my card to him, they were at mess. An A.D.C. came to receive me and the General invited me to the mess. They were much surprised at my coming to Sacket's Harbour during the war. I told them that the preliminaries of peace had been signed and as my regiment was going to the low country, I did not like to lose the opportunity of making their acquaintance before leaving their neighborhood. The next day news of peace arrived. Commodore Chauncey asked me to inspect their fleet, I went on board the Commodore's ship a 74.¹⁵ The yards were manned and I was received with all the honours.

¹³ The reconnaissance described seems to be that at Cook's Mills, Oct. 19; the conduct of Lord Tweeddale in it is warmly praised by Drummond, *ibid.*, pp. 260-262.

¹⁴ A slip of memory. Major-General Jackson was in command of the division of the South, and was at this time either in New Orleans or in Nashville. Most likely it was Major-General Jacob Brown.

¹⁵ The only 74's at Sacket's Harbor were the *New Orleans* and the *Chippewa*, neither of which was completed at this time. *Amer. St. Pap., Naval Affairs*, p. 380. Commodore Isaac Chauncey's flag-ship was the *Superior*, 44.

Everything looked like a British man-of-war, I observed some of the men smile when I passed them. I asked the Commodore why they smiled. He answered they are deserters from the man-of-war in which you came out to America. I stayed one day and returned to Kingstown, my regiment was soon ordered to Montreal. I had written home to Greenwood and Cox¹⁶ to have new clothing out by the opening of the St. Lawrence and I had sent the Tailor to be ready to fit the clothing as soon as the regiment arrived. I told the agents that the men had received the compensation, notwithstanding if the clothing did not arrive at the time I desired I would report the state of the regiment to the Duke of York.¹⁷ The barracks were not ready at Montreal and we had some rough accommodation at Lachine for a few weeks. The men received everything new and felt proud of their appearance they had little to do. I kept a sentry night and day in the of the concern which had been converted into barracks to watch the fires in the night. The regiment was always first and received the reward.

I passed the winter at Montreal, the wound in my leg did not heal so I was obliged to get leave to go home.

I hired a sloop at St. Johns which took me through Lake Champlain. We got becalmed off and came to anchor. When we were sitting after our dinner taking our wine on the poop of the sloop a boat came off filled with Irishmen who were deserters from the 27th regiment. My servant was cleaning my morning clothes, one of them jumped out of the boat and asked who we were, he did not get a satisfactory answer. The remainder followed him and came aft. I observed the American sailors peeping up from the lower deck, and when they heard the Irishmen begin with their insolence to us and one of them take up a glass of wine, our party remaining quite still and making no observation. The Irishmen began to be saucy, on which the American crew came on deck and threatened to throw them into the Lake. They called them every name high-minded fellows could think of, cowardly deserters daring to insult officers in a friendly country. The Americans soon cleared the decks and threatened to duck the deserters unless they got into their boat and went away.

We left the next morning and landed at the end of Lake Champlain. We hired a waggon and arrived at [Albany?] where the landlady and her two daughters received us very kindly. They had heard of our coming there, we found everything prepared as it would have been at home. We stayed all night and the next evening we embarked in a steamer for Hudson's river and got to New York early next morning.

Some English young men by telling me that Napoleon had reentered France and added some offensive remarks. I went to the Hotel where rooms had been engaged for us and began dressing. A rap came to my bed room door by a waiter sent to inform me that eleven gentlemen of New York wished to see me.

They were ushered into the parlour. I soon finished my toilet and received them. After congratulating me on arriving in New York they introduced themselves to me by saying that they heard I was coming to New York on my way home and hoped that I would stay there some little time as each of them had invited a party to meet me at a dinner, at balls and evening parties during my stay in New York which would last about 11 days. I expressed myself very sensible of their kindness and as being

¹⁶ Army contractors.

¹⁷ Commander-in-chief of the British army.

honoured by their invitations. We talked on various subjects and on retiring they left their cards. I then had formal invitations which I accepted and I spent a very agreeable time at New York.

I stayed twelve days at New York and went to Philadelphia where I was most hospitably received. All sorts of gaieties were prepared for our party. After spending a very agreeable week at Philadelphia we returned to New York. An event happened the last night that we were at a ball, we were to leave the next morning at 6 o'clock by the ferry over the [Delaware]. I arrived in time but two of our party young fellows did not arrive. The Captain of the ferry boat was good enough to say that he would wait until I went back for the two young gentlemen. I sent one of our party who found them in the ball-room with two young ladies with whom they were desperately in love. They were obliged to tear themselves away and joined us looking very spoony.

On our return to New York I lived very much with Commodore Chauncey who was a shrewd broad-minded man. He told me much about the institutions in the U. S. A., about our sailors being tired of blockading the French ports so they entered the U. S. navy.

I expressed how much I had been gratified with my visits to New York and Philadelphia. He answered if you were to visit any of our large towns you would receive the same attention. I observed that I could not imagine why they had shown me so much kindness. He said do you not know I will tell you. After being wounded you desired the Major of your regiment to let you know everything that was going on in the Upper Province. You must have received a letter disparaging the U. S. army. You made a reply to him that he was not justified in using such language against your enemy, on the contrary that he ought to speak of them with the highest respect, and in your answer you desired that prisoners that passed through your cantonment if there was an officer he should be accommodated with my bedroom, that he should be invited to the mess as my guest, and if a soldier that a fatigue party should be warned to clear out the room, and that they should be well taken care of at their meals and that you would pay any extra for them during their stay in your cantonment.

The only mail that was taken during the war was that in which my letter was. It had been published in many papers in the States and wherever you go you will be received as you have been in New York and any of your family coming to the states will be made welcome.¹⁸

When my brother¹⁹ took the Ambassador out to America in the

¹⁸ The reader may be interested to compare a passage in the *Autobiography* of General Winfield Scott, who at Chippewa had borne the leading part in the fighting against Lord Tweeddale and his associates. After the close of hostilities, he says (p. 126) Lord Tweeddale "made several complimentary allusions to the prowess of our troops in the war. Scott passing through London, in 1815, to Paris, met the Marquess of Tweeddale [*sic*] in the street, when the parties kindly recognized each other. The latter was on the point of setting out for Scotland and the former for France. Scott was assured of a welcome at Yester House, the seat of the marquess, if he should visit Scotland. The meeting soon became strangely misrepresented, on both sides of the Atlantic, to the great annoyance of the parties".

¹⁹ Captain Lord John Hay, R. N., who in 1842 commanded the *Warspite*, in which Lord Ashburton came to America on his well-known mission. H. S. Burrage, *Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy*, p. 319.

"Warspite" he went to New York and was received as I had been. I returned home in an American sailing packet, a brig. The first thing was to choose a president for our mess, there were 14 or 16 Americans and 5 English officers. Some wished to make me president but the Americans did not like a man with a handle to his name to fill that position, so an American was elected, in three days it was found necessary to change our president. Things went well until one morning when not far from the English coast an American gentleman quarrelled with one of our officers. The Americans said that it was necessary the quarrel should be settled by a duel immediately they got on shore, at a short distance. It was left for me to decide, I gave it as my opinion that they should fight across the stern of the vessel. That was considered too near and was not accepted. I then decided that the quarrel should be made up. A little reflection made our cousins think better of it, so the affair was compromised and the affair was made up.

We arrived at Liverpool, I left immediately for town. The next day I met Sir G. Murray who had just returned from Canada,²⁰ we agreed to go to Paris together. We arrived at the Duke's hotel on the anniversary of the battle of Vittoria.²¹ There was a large dinner party, the present Emperor of Germany²² and several royal persons were among the company. They were at desert when we were announced as having arrived. The Duke insisted on our coming into the dining-room as we were covered with dust. He made us come and sit beside him and asked the Prussian princes to make room for us. He then told me all about the Waterloo campaign. He said the army was principally composed of young soldiers, many were militia men unaccustomed to move in large bodies, but when formed in position to meet an attack nothing could move them but the orders of their officers. He then told me as a proof of this the 3rd regiment in Kempt's brigade had never seen a shot fired in action. They were attacked by the young guards. They stood firm behind a newly planted hedge. They were made to toe-dress as the sailors aboard a man-of-war by toeing the line of the plank. They received the attack and drove back the enemy, I asked the Duke why they did not advance, he replied I could not trust them in line there was no doubt about their pluck, but he could not depend upon them if made to move away from the hedge.

I asked the Duke when he felt secure that he had gained the battle. He told me that as soon as he saw the young regiments drive back the attack of the young guards he felt certain that if the older soldiers were attacked they would fight their way through all difficulties. He ended by saying that if he had had the Peninsular army instead of the young soldiers that fought at Waterloo he would have advanced after the young Guards were driven back.

The Duke asked me how I intended to employ myself, I told him my leg was in such a state from my never having laid up since I got the wound that I was unable to move without a crutch. He said you have never attended to the business of your property, you had better go home and attend to it. If ever I am employed on active service you may depend upon my not forgetting you.

²⁰ Major-General Sir George Murray, commander of the troops in Upper Canada and provisional lieutenant-governor Apr. 25-July 1, 1815.

²¹ June 21, but on that day in 1815, three days after Waterloo, Wellington was of course not in Paris. It must have been some other battle that he was celebrating.

²² William I., in 1815 Prince William of Prussia.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Making of the Modern Mind. By JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.,
Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. 653. \$3.50.)

THE mind described and explained in this interesting and stimulating work is not the possession of any individual man. What is meant is the complex of beliefs, ideals, aspirations found in present-day society, animating in diversified ways the individuals or classes occupied with science, art, religion, or with economic and political action. It is a complex full of tension and conflict, a struggle between old inherited beliefs and the triumphant advance of modern natural science. This is the modern mind which is skillfully diagnosed in the closing two-fifths of the book. Since such a product of history can be explained and perhaps justified by a study of its birth and growth, Dr. Randall builds it up historically. We start with a survey of the medieval situation in its culminating thirteenth-century form, see the eruptive effect of new interests in Renaissance and Reformation movements with the subsequent revolution in scientific conceptions of nature, then discern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries how the dominance of Newtonian science fostered the development of rational social sciences that were powerfully determinant in economic, political, and ethical matters. This makes not a history of philosophy nor a history of science but a synthetic record of social change, a *Kulturgeschichte* on the superior level of intellectual and spiritual activity, and these activities appear to make a synthetic unity by having as their producing cause and molding control the economic interest of the increasingly dominant middle class. In this quite fascinating tale—which can never be overtold—Dr. Randall reveals himself as a man of philosophic grasp with a talent for historical exposition, using the spade-work of others, and also as a literary artist.

This thought-provoking exposition gives pleasure by its sonant literary form. It speaks to the ear. The reader hears a flexible, well-modulated discourse that seizes and holds attention by many neat alliterations and balanced contrasts, achieving an effect of rapid fluency by smooth and varied rhythms while it yet lingers artfully to the hearer's pace by amplifications of substantives and phrase. In his interpretive exposition Dr. Randall avoids the abstract diction of the philosopher, preferring the plastic images that wake the imagination and a rhetoric that subtly varies with the changes of the theme. He speaks in tones of tender and delicate sympathy of the saint of Assisi, with a hush of contemplative reverence of

the cathedral perfection of structure in the system of Aquinas, but lets himself go about "great, sprawling, multitudinous Rabelais, grasping with both hands the overflowing fullness of all life from the gutter to the stars, his crammed belly ever shaking with peals of whole-souled laughter, pouring out an unending stream of filthy vituperation upon all who would rob him of a single morsel, however unappetizing".

As he says in his preface, he aims to "enter sympathetically into the spirit of the past", and he has a remarkable gift for such sympathy or *Einfühlung*. This is conspicuous in his exposition of the medieval system. This brilliant sketch outlines the Middle Ages in the pattern of an ideal conception, a complex social order regulated and elevated by direction from a wise and beneficent spiritual power, and it contains a lament that Europe has "sacrificed, in the name of liberty, a precious heritage of unity in aspiration and action" (p. 78). No liberty, no Randall, surely. And as for unity of action, Randall must mention incessant war and faithless treachery and plundering and hard indifference and cruelty to peasants, though (p. 84) this "does not alter the significance of the fundamental principles involved". Homage to the idea which made the spiritual glory of that age fails to restrain a cynical reference to "the so-called Age of Faith, when every man gave lip service to the Church and took wise precautions against the perils of a future life" (p. 521). There is a point where modifications of a sweeping statement become a contradiction of it, and Dr. Randall frequently arrives there. He is a somewhat temperamental author and one of more sluggish mood has difficulty in making some of his pages match. If, for example (p. 213), modern natural science is "the only source yet discovered of understanding and truth", and if (p. 212), by postponing the advent of natural science, Humanism was "an almost unmitigated curse", why should we, on page 99, count it a defect of the modern mind that it yields to a science that excludes all search for purpose and, picking apart the cog-wheels of nature, is not wise, despairing or indifferent about the supreme problem—the meaning to be given to man's life in this vast world. And after all Humanism mitigated its curse (pp. 216, 235), by affording a knowledge of Alexandrian texts that made a rebirth of mathematics and physics.

Probably readers will find several bones to pick. Shall we indeed think that English factory legislation is properly explained (pp. 331, 425) as the work of spiteful landlords who, to revenge themselves on the manufacturers for supporting the repeal of the corn laws, in rage and desperation listened to a few humanitarians like Lord Shaftesbury? And was "the economic individualism that was building the factory system and modern capitalism" (p. 411) due in any measure to the Romanticist counsel, the preaching of Goethe or Emerson, to cultivate and fully express individual personality? If experimental science is the way to truth, a few captains of industry should be mentioned as instances. Certain minor errors of fact may be passed over. But a principle of historical explana-

tion is not a minor thing and some of us will stumble on the almost cosmic power ascribed to the economic interest of the middle class. This is the *deus* or *diabolus ex machina* of the plot. This *libido* seems to the reviewer overworked and only limitations of space deter him from entering the lists. If this has the ring of combat, it is still consistent with a sense of obligation to this book for great profit and constant pleasure.¹

F. A. CHRISTIE.

Geschichte Ostasiens. Von Dr. F. E. A. KRAUSE, Professor an der Universität Heidelberg. Three volumes. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1925. Pp. 400, 488, 80. Volumes I. and II., 29 M., volume III., 9.50 M.)

THE need for a comprehensive history of China has long been felt among nations of the West, but the difficulties in the way of providing one that will meet the conflicting demands of scholars and publishers appear thus far to have been insuperable. To the historian contemplating this task these difficulties are in a way unique; the first is the language of the older sources that yields only to a lifetime of study. But when this is acquired—obviously in its highest perfection by a native of the country—there remains the more serious obstacle of determining the trustworthiness of the material and extracting from the abundant annals of the past an intelligible record of social and political evolution during a period of three or four millenniums. None of this material is compiled with the sort of purpose which underlies the narratives of Herodotus or Tacitus, none presents a philosophical interpretation of the events described, nothing is substantiated by archaeological remains or justified by accounts of neighboring nations. If to these perplexities of the student are added the enormous bulk of printed material, nowhere catalogued or arranged in available collections, and the unbroken continuity of Chinese recorded history from the age of Hannibal to the present day, the heart of the most exacting critic must be softened in contemplating any honest effort to tell the long tale of China to Western readers.

Professor Krause of Heidelberg, who has recently published an interesting study on the religious systems of the Far East, as well as various articles on Asiatic topics, makes rather short shrift of the great bulk of this protracted story. Thirty-nine centuries, down to the Manchu conquest, occupy about 200 pages of the first volume, the succeeding two centuries (1640-1840) of China's greatness are dismissed in fifty pages, while the remaining 300 pages of the second volume are devoted to the contacts of China, Japan, and Europe within the period remembered by men still living. This means that the author has not written a general history of Eastern Asia at all; his work is an account of the decline and fall of Manchu power and the shattering influences of Western contacts together with an introductory survey of the more remote past. Those

¹ Each chapter is provided with an excellent bibliography.

who look to him for light on the many obscure periods in Chinese history, or for opinions on controversial questions such as Chinese race origins, the T'ang conquests, the Hakkas and others, will discover little that is adequate and nothing impressive. It is disappointing, for from one who evidently has some acquaintance with Chinese and whose place in a German university credits him with a knowledge of historical method we have a right to expect more. On the other hand there is a general attitude of fairness in recounting events too often handled by European writers with asperity. His discernment and freedom from bias are especially commendable in relating the recent happenings in China during the late war, an account noticeably free from bitterness that might be forgiven in a German compelled to record the diminished prestige of his nationals in further Asia.

Whatever our regrets in missing a consideration of the important problem of race-sources in primitive China, the author is right in placing proper emphasis upon the supreme achievement of her culture in consolidating the diverse peoples of an enormous territory into a fairly homogeneous group. It is easy to note physical and mental contrasts between the Northern and Southern inhabitants of China and to find in these traces of different stocks; the extraordinary fact remains that nowhere else in the civilized world has anything like the same degree of solidarity obtained during an equal number of centuries in a population of equal size. Europeans, having inherited the spiritual, esthetic, and political elements of their culture from common sources, have so transformed and diversified the resultants that no one to-day thinks of Europe as an entity. The contrast is not only suggestive, its attribute denotes an understanding mind when account is taken of China's historical development. This unfolding is unfortunately so briefly outlined as to offer little material for comment or criticism. It is the standard recital of the succession of dynasties that appears in every history of the Empire. Some question as to "die uralte Lehre von zwei in der Natur wirksamen Dualkräften, Yin und Yang", might be raised. It is, as the author states, the fundamental of the *I-Ching*, but may well have been a contribution from Iran through the Chows rather than a conception of indigenous Chinese philosophy. The meagre notice of Buddhism in China may be due to the author's unwillingness to repeat here his studies in *Ju-Tao-Fo* on the three great religions of the country, but the neglect of a very important element in his subject leaves something to be desired in a general history.

A few items in his account of the modern history of China are worth noting, chiefly because they indicate his uniform reliance upon European sources: the Opium War was not merely one of the great scandals of the aggressive Europe of the nineteenth century, it was a revelation of the influence of sea power supported by the economic demands of the new industrial age; its international significance is seen in the abolition of

the old doctrine of closed lands and closed seas. The principle of extritoriality was not imposed by the British in the Treaty of Nanking, it was proposed by the American plenipotentiary Cushing and cordially accepted by the Chinese commissioner in 1844 as a *via media* for keeping the peace between aliens of different civilizations. The Taiping Rebellion, the most destructive internecine war, perhaps, of recorded history, deserves a fuller notice than a few paragraphs; its significance lies in its disclosure of the culture-traits of the Chinese, their obstinate dislike of the Manchus who had given them the best government they had ever enjoyed, their indifference to any religious sanctions except those inherited from their own past, their fortitude under appalling sufferings, their appreciation of the slow but effective process which led them out of trouble—all these are characteristics that remain in the race and indicate an ultimate solution of the difficulties that embarrass the nation to-day. T'seng Kuo-fan, by the way, did not save Ch'angsha from capture by the rebels in 1852; he had nothing to do with the war until later.

There is no compelling need to review the later and larger portion of Professor Krause's work here. Its scope is political rather than historical, prompted, we may guess, by a recent visit to eastern Asia and written for the instruction of his own countrymen who have not been deluged, as we have been, with books explaining what is the matter with China. The chapters on Japan—four in each volume—are sensible but lack the inspiration that comes from original research or very definite convictions. *Einzeluntersuchungen* on special topics are grouped together at the end of each volume, a concession to the general reader in relegating sheer scholarship to a place by itself, but showing the author at his best. A good bibliography, a copious index with the characters belonging to the proper names, and two maps (one reversed in photographic reproduction) complete the equipment of a useful contribution to the literature on the Far East.

F. W. WILLIAMS.

Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by J. B. BURY, F.B.A., S. A. COOK, Litt.D., F. E. ADCOCK, M.A. Volume IV. *The Persian Empire and the West.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xxiii, 698. 35 s.)

THE appearance of the fourth volume has followed with praiseworthy expedition upon the third in this great work, and its contents are rich and fully worthy of its predecessors. That the reader may know at once how far it comes within the limits of his own interest or concern I here transcribe the long list of chapters, and give in each case the author's name that the relative authority of each writer may be manifest to any searcher for information. The general title for the whole volume is *Persia and the West*, and the contents are as follows: chapter I., the Foundation and Extension of the Persian Empire, by the late G. Buchanan

Gray of Mansfield College; II., the Reform of the Athenian State, by F. E. Adcock, professor of ancient history in the University of Cambridge; III., Athens under the Tyrants, by F. E. Adcock; IV., the Outer Greek World in the Sixth Century, by P. N. Ure, professor of classics, University College, Reading; V., Coinage from its Origin to the Persian Wars, by G. F. Hill, keeper of coins and medals, British Museum; VI., Athens: the Reform of Cleisthenes, by E. M. Walker, provost of Queen's College, Oxford; VII., the Reign of Darius, by G. B. Gray and M. Cary, reader in ancient history in the University of London; VIII., Marathon, by J. A. R. Munro, rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, and E. M. Walker; IX., Xerxes' Invasion of Greece, by J. A. R. Munro; X., the Deliverance of Greece, by J. A. R. Munro; XI., Carthage and Sicily, by R. Hackforth, fellow and lecturer, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; XII. and XIII., Italy in the Etruscan Age, A, the Etruscans, by R. S. Conway, professor of Latin in the Victoria University of Manchester, and S. Casson, fellow of New College, Oxford, B, the Indo-European Communities, by R. S. Conway; XIV., Greek Literature from the Eighth Century to the Persian Wars, by J. B. Bury, regius professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge; XV., Mystery Religions and Pre-Socratic Philosophy, by F. M. Cornford, fellow and lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge; XVI., Early Greek Art, by J. D. Beazley, professor of classical archaeology and art, Oxford, and D. S. Robertson, fellow and lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Thereupon there follow the elaborate bibliographies, three chronological notes (on the date of Cylon's *coup d'état*, on the reign of Bardiya [Smerdis], and on the chronology of the campaigns of Darius immediately after his accession), and good indexes. In a list so comprehensive there ought to be food for palates of very diverse tastes. Let us see what may be said of such portions as the properly limited space here given may permit.

In general the classical periods here covered not only exceed in space the Oriental, as indeed they should, but are also handled with a touch far more sure. England's tradition of classical study stands her again in good stead, and though there are differences here or there in breadth or in detail, in acumen, or in slow-moving apprehension, there is no real weakness. These men who write were brought up in Greek and Latin and have spent their lives at it. The results are as might be expected. Far less strong and satisfactory is the representation of the Oriental side, and it seems a pity that some first-rate Orientalists of Germany could not have been called to do a piece. G. Buchanan Gray was indeed a first-rate Oriental scholar, but his chief interest was in the Hebrews and when this work on Persia, left unfinished at his lamented death, was done he was also busy with his learned and suggestive *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, which has been posthumously published. Highly, most highly, though I valued all his work, it is idle to pretend that the chapters in this

book are adequate. They are thin, much too brief, and too often argumentative on details rather than flowing in narrative. His judgment, usually sound on everything that he touched, seems at times to have failed in important decisions. He writes soundly and well on the person of the prophet Zoroaster and his religion, yet adopts the date 1000 B. C. for his age, abandoning the well-supported date 660-583 B. C. I can not but think that this is due solely to ill-founded reliance upon Eduard Meyer, whose justly distinguished reputation is too often made a final resort by many.

The Persian Wars are well done, for the hands of masters are in the work. Munro is even so bold as to challenge the universally accepted date of the battle of Marathon, and to make it 491 instead of 490 B. C. (p. 232 ff.), but his co-worker Walker refuses to follow him, and I believe justly. The argument is much too weak. Munro is more clever in dealing with the long-debated question of the size of Xerxes's army. Most of us are content to say that the total of 1,800,000 given by Herodotus is impossible, and let it go with rough conjectures to the effect that the number could not possibly have exceeded a greatly diminished one. Munro, on the other hand, presents a most ingenious and suggestive solution depending upon a supposed blunder of Herodotus in confusing the myriarchs with the six generals-in-chief, and by this stroke reduces the number to 360,000 (p. 271 f.). The solution seems almost too good to be true, so great is the relief which it gives. Munro also boldly attacks the problem of the 1207 ships of the Persian navy and partly by means of suggestions from Tarn (*J. H. S.*, XXVIII. 207) reduces the total to 660 ships of the line or a grand total of 730 (p. 276). I commend these speculations to the consideration of scholars both in history and in Greek literature. As to the battle in general, for verve, eloquence, and a sense of its glory we may still profitably read George Grote.

Chapter V., on coinage, was written by Hill, who is certainly one of the greatest living authorities in ancient numismatics. Yet I make bold to say that it is sadly disappointing. It is extremely brief, and does no real justice to Lydian coinage. Its one redeeming feature is a good bibliography.

As one would expect, Bury writes finely of the Greek literature of the post-Homeric period, and sums up Hesiod, and the lyric and elegiac poets who followed him, in the judgment that none of them had learned Homer's secret. "None of them had his greatness of spirit, none of them his power of telling a story; much less could any of them create immortal figures, like Nestor and Odysseus and Penelope and the witch Circe and, portrayed by a few touches, Helen, so curiously attractive" (p. 480).

But I must cease, leaving to the diligence of many, and the judgment of the few, the discovery of the treasures in this big and impressive volume. They will find much indeed of instruction and of stimulus, let us hope also that they may feel the call for others to go on with the study of this great period. It is not exhausted.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward. By THOMAS FRANCIS CARTER, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Chinese in Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1925. Pp. xviii, 282. \$7.50.)

THE material which made it possible to write a volume about the early history of printing in China, came from two places. One is a room some nine feet square, in which, about the year 1035, somebody packed away ten solid feet of books, after which the entrance was bricked up and concealed by wall-paintings. Three hundred years later, the libraries of another community of religious establishments were destroyed, the books cut or torn to pieces and scattered about over the bodies of the slain custodians. After these two episodes, it ceased to rain in that part of the world. Nothing more of consequence to us happened thereabouts until the twentieth century, when the Central Asian deserts became the goal for a new school of archaeological explorers.

The fate which had kept these books, and many other things, unchanged for centuries, hid them away again for another twenty years, some in unopened packing cases in two famous museums, until the man came along who combined acquaintance with the languages in which they were written with the imagination to perceive the features which make them interesting to the readers of 1925. And then, to prove her capriciousness, fate removed the author before he could know how admirably his task had been accomplished.

This is a belated notice of the late Professor Carter's *Invention of Printing in China*, but the delay makes it possible to point out one thing about the book which earlier reviewers could not know. They welcomed it enthusiastically, finding it both scholarly and interesting. They could not foresee how generally it has awakened the imagination of those who have had the good fortune to look into its pages.

The knowledge that the Chinese printed long before movable types were evolved in the Rhine Valley has been a matter of record for many years, in places where people who are interested in such things rarely look. Even the announcement that the John Crerar Library in Chicago possesses some of this earliest printing failed to reach the American academic world. Now, all that Professor Carter actually contributed was confirmatory evidence, in amazingly greater quantity than anyone could have supposed to be in existence. What he did, however, was much more important than unearthing new facts, for he presented that evidence in such convincing form that it has, in a twelvemonth, been accepted as a part of the stock of American historical information. The concrete proof of this is the fact that at least three instructors who conduct an "Introductory History" course have inserted in their notes a reminder to tell their students next year that printing was invented in China, with certain entertaining facts drawn from Professor Carter's pages.

One other thing about this volume is of interest to professional historians. It has added, unless all the signs fail, a section and perhaps a chapter to the annals of historical writing. Already, the story of the use made of the documents which Professor Carter brought to public attention is in its way quite as instructive as the other stories of how they were hidden and how they were found, or of the ancient lore which they record. He barely scratched the surface, in hunting for examples of printing among the greater mass of hand-written documents. There can be no telling how long the next interval will be, before another person equally qualified to carry on the investigations will take up the task.

The importance of the work done by Professor Carter, as scholar and as popularizer, is beyond question. The recognition of this, without qualification, does not carry with it the implication that he has said a final word. His main thesis, upon which he relied for the effectiveness of his appeal to current interest, is fundamentally unconvincing.

This thesis is, that the invention of printing by the Chinese was the origin of the industry which has done so much to make possible modern European life. The Chinese, beyond possibility of doubt, were printing in the seventh century. They experimented with movable types in the tenth century, and used them enough to satisfy themselves—as twentieth-century Westerners are slowly perceiving—that metal letters are not the best solution of the problem of how to make many books cheaply. There is also plenty of evidence that the Chinese and Europeans knew a great deal about each other during those, and succeeding, centuries. Later, soon after the year 1450, books began to be made with movable type in the Rhine cities. These facts are curiously like those which constitute so many genealogical records; the beginning and the end are securely established, but there is an absolute blank intervening.

If Professor Carter were here to maintain his position, the point might be worth arguing. As he is not, those who can not accept his thesis may as well recognize that it is really of not the slightest consequence. The essential thing is that the fog has lifted from what was regarded as a hazy legend of printing in China long before Gutenberg. The typographic horizon has receded to more than twice its former distance, revealing a clear and distinct vision of many new things, none of which appear to have made the slightest impression upon human events. The use to which the new thing was put, and not the priority of date, is what makes for historical significance.

G. P. W.

Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse. Publié avec la Recommandation de la Société Général Suisse d'Histoire et sous la Direction de MARCEL GODET, Directeur de la Bibliothèque Nationale, HENRI TURLER, Directeur des Archives Fédérales, VICTOR ATTINGER, Éditeur, avec de nombreux Collaborateurs de tous les Cantons. Volumes I. and II. (Neuchâtel: Administration du Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse. 1924. 420 Swiss fr. for the set.)

THIS monumental work will have six volumes in quarto of about seven hundred pages of close print each. Two volumes are out, and the rest will be printed serially in issues of about eighty pages each. The letter G has been reached, and the third volume nears completion. There is a German edition, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, issued by the same firm. The print is small, but excellent. Illustrations, while not luxurious, are very well made and appropriately chosen. Some are in color, reproducing glass windows, pictures of historical events, manuscripts, *et cetera*.

The work is comprehensive, and there are articles for important events of any kind in which Swiss people are interested or involved, as also for any personality which directly or indirectly was connected with Swiss affairs. For instance there is a good article on the "*Alabama Affair*", decided by arbitration in Geneva (1873). One of the rooms of the city hall of Geneva is still called the "*Salle Alabama*".

The articles on various localities are always rich in substance and relevant, especially those concerning cities which are by their location and history centres of international activities. Most of the principal cities have had that honor at one time or other: St. Gall in the early Middle Ages; Zurich especially since the Reformation; even more so perhaps Basel, Bern, since it became the federal city, Geneva, a bone of political contention long before it became the "*Rome Protestante*" and long after, and to-day the seat of the League of Nations. By the articles which have already been published, *Bâle*, *Berne*, *Fribourg*, *Genève*, we can anticipate what the others will be, and that is very good. The article *Bâle* seems particularly fine, presented as it is under its manifold aspects, geographical, political, historical, commercial, artistic, literary, scientific, religious, etc., the illustrations adding much to the value of the text.

Naturally the scholar will look there for reliable information on institutions specifically Swiss, like *Capitulation*, *Corps Francs*, *Académies* [Suisse], the *Gentilshommes de la Cuiller* (those men who did in Savoy and Geneva what the catholic "*Ligue*" did on a larger scale in Paris)—and he will find it. Some of these institutions have had quite a bearing on outside affairs; rather striking is the article *Armée* by Major de Vallières, showing how in early days it was for a time actually the Swiss who instructed the other countries in warfare. (See also other articles in this group, like *Guerres de Bourgogne*, or *Bérésina*).

Another interesting group is that of the martyrs of political freedom in Switzerland. William Tell—or his legend—has not yet appeared; but Bonivard, of Byronian fame, Major Davel, Berthelier, and others have.

Constantly one runs across unusually interesting figures, like Abauzit, the sage of Geneva in the eighteenth century, a man of great learning, who corresponded with Newton (and the latter bowed before his wisdom), and was equally respected by Voltaire and by Rousseau, who considered him the Cato of his time; like Gustave Ador, the great statesman; like Agassiz, later of Harvard, and Arnold Guyot, later of Princeton, before they came to continue their careers in this country.

There is no doubt that most American public or scientific libraries will wish to own this work, either in French or in German.

The writer has noticed very few inaccuracies or omissions. The book on Calvin is by the American Walker, not Welker; in the article on the Red Cross, one is surprised not to find a mention of the excellent book by A. François, *Le Berceau de la Croix Rouge* (Geneva, Tullien, 1918). Is it not out of proportion with other parts of the work to give the great mathematician Euler only a very short notice in the Euler family? The same would apply to the famous painter Böcklin. But probably the editors thought that such international figures would be adequately treated in less special encyclopaedias.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuern Zeit. Von Dr. LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1926. Pp. xix, 333. Bound, 18.50 M., unbound, 16 M.)

Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte der Einzelstaaten des Mittelalters und der Neuern Zeit. Von Dr. FERDINAND FRIEDENSBURG. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1926. Pp. viii, 196. Bound, 16.50 M.; unbound, 14. M.)

As the preface and title-page indicate, Dr. von Ebengreuth's book is the second edition of a work originally published twenty years ago, and now enlarged to include material that has appeared in the interval. The illustrations of the first edition are retained—one might wish that they had been increased in number, and that the engravings, which form a not large proportion, might have been replaced by more accurate photographic reproductions.

This volume attempts to provide something much more thorough than a mere introduction. The encyclopaedic style of the text marks it as intended for the scholar rather than for the dilettante. No mean task has been set in trying to afford an oversight of the coinages of the troubled

years of Europe's dark ages and of the war-filled period which followed, but the facts presented show again and again that it is during such times, when other sources are few and obscure, that the coinage of a people or a period offers evidence that can not be neglected.

But if the author may be said to have sacrificed readability for the sake of weight of content, the careful plan of the volume, indicated by the outline, and the completeness of the thirty-six-page index should make reference very easy. Extended bibliographies occur at the end of each paragraph, affording opportunity to compare the author's conclusions with those of other writers. The exhaustiveness with which this is done throughout will be found admirable for some purposes; it would have had greater effectiveness if the more important of the citations had been indicated by asterisk or otherwise, thereby utilizing the compiler's knowledge of the comparative merits of the writings referred to.

By treating the coinage of these periods (*a*) in its outward form, (*b*) from the stand-point of its minting, and (*c*) from the point of view of the collector, there have been brought together a mass of generalizations which make manifest the wide knowledge of the entire field possessed by the writer. The sections devoted to minting methods, to bracteates—those thin, foil-like issues, which seem so at variance with all modern criteria for desirable media of circulation—and to the study of coin hoards, are especially worthy of mention. The latter half of the volume treats of the history of money and of its significance for the history of those who used it. The concluding portion considers the economic laws governing the issue of these currencies, and the conventions which have grown out of these laws.

Dr. Friedensburg's book is a pendant to the fore-going, and tries to be specific where that is general. This is perhaps the more difficult problem of the two, but it can hardly be said to have been met with equal effectiveness. To compress a notice of the coinage of the Byzantine Empire into two pages is well-nigh impossible. The treatment of the coinage of the United States occupies page 166, and although the amount of information given is impressive, there are such slips as "das Wappen mit den 'Strips and Stars'" and the misstatement that "Die Konföderierten Staaten haben von 1861 bis 64 in derselben Weise wie die Union, aber mit sitzender 'Liberty' geprägt und auch ihrerseits viel Papiergeld ausgegeben".

The colotype plates are hardly up to the usual standard, and while any selection of what should be illustrated from such a mass of material would be open to criticism, the metal might have been indicated, and some other selection made for our country's coinage than a Rosa Americana two-pence (assigned to Maryland).

SYDNEY P. NOE.

Lanfranc, a Study of his Life, Work, and Writing. By A. J. MACDONALD, M.A. (London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 307. 12 s. 6 d.)

Not the least of the results of the Norman Conquest was its effect upon the English Church. The introduction of Norman feudo-vassalism and the application of Norman political genius and discipline to English governmental problems were paralleled by ecclesiastical reforms and the appointment of Continental clerics to English prelacies. Chief among these clerics and most largely responsible for bringing the English Church into the broad and swiftly flowing current of European church life was Lanfranc, Italian by birth and early education, Norman in his clerical training and career, friend and counsellor of the Conqueror. It is with the nineteen years that Lanfranc was archbishop of Canterbury, rather than with the seventy—or thereabouts—that he passed on the Continent, that this biography deals; yet enough is told of his work in law and dialectic, of his years in the humble and hardworking monastic community at Bec, and of the important part he played in the revival of learning in Normandy to show what manner of man he was whom William made primate of England as soon as Stigand could be deposed. In the chapter devoted to the controversy with Berengar, Mr. MacDonald shows a poor opinion of Lanfranc's treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, "a halting, amateurish attempt", and his intellectual sympathies are clearly with Berengar. He feels that Lanfranc's alleged success in this had nothing to do with his subsequent promotion, it "exerted little more influence upon his career than the rôle of a witness in a lawsuit upon the fortunes of ordinary men".

The story of Lanfranc's tenure of the archbishopric is the story of the reconstruction of the English Church. Lax as to life, flabby as administrators, negligent as pastors—such is the opinion one receives of the Saxon clergy. As a first step toward remedying unwholesome conditions Lanfranc secured recognition of the primacy of his see, and next he introduced the practice of holding church councils as reforming agencies. The agenda were carefully prepared, canonical authority for proposed reforms was laboriously amassed, and no phase of ecclesiastical practice that called for correction was disregarded. As might be expected from the former prior of Bec and abbot of Caen, Lanfranc gave much attention to monasticism, "but he loved other things more—a strong administration and the episcopal organization", and his interest in the monastic revival was tempered by zeal for diocesan authority. In dealing with married clergy he disregarded Gregory's decree requiring them to leave their wives: the law of celibacy was to apply in the future, it was not made retroactive.

Lanfranc's share in the great building programme of the Anglo-Norman prelates; the rules he laid down for the guidance of the monks of Christ Church; the assistance he received from friends and former pupils

at Bec; the high esteem in which he was held in Scotland, Ireland, and Normandy as well as in his own province, all receive due attention; so too do his relations with Gregory VII., with the Conqueror, and with Rufus. The chapter on the York controversy calls for special mention, and the appendix with which that chapter is supplemented. Mr. MacDonald absolves the archbishop of the charge of using forgeries to gain his point, and urges that in his main contention he was fully warranted, though his arguments were dubious and disingenuous.

At times the dignified style of the narrative lapses into dullness and the details of description over-crowd the picture, but the care and thoroughness with which, in scholarly wise, the author treats his subject place us in his debt. The reviewer questions the accuracy of the translation of Orderic's phrase *in ipsa aetate* (p. 1, n. 2), and regrets also that the index is little other than a list of personal and place names.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

Humanism and Tyranny, Studies in the Italian Trecento. By EPHRAIM EMERTON, Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University, Emeritus. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1925. Pp. vii, 377. \$4.00.)

THE title of this scholarly book led the reviewer, obviously without due warrant, to anticipate the pleasant task of appraising a study of the affinities between humanism and tyranny or at least between the humanists and the tyrants of the Trecento. When the book arrived he discovered to his dismay that he had undertaken to evaluate a work on medieval political theory (pp. 25-284) accompanied by some writings of Coluccio Salutati in defense of liberal studies (pp. 287-337).

The central and most valuable part of the book contains in translation Coluccio's treatise on the tyrant, Bartolus's treatise on the tyranny, a contemporary account of the struggle between the tyrant Francesco dei Ordelaffi and Cardinal Albornoz, the Ordinances of Albornoz, and an essay by Bartolus on Guelfs and Ghibellines, with introductions and elucidations by the learned translator. All this material, showing how theory followed upon the rise of the tyrannies, holds together admirably and will prove of great service to students of medieval political philosophy and of value even to those interested in the *mores* of the Italian Trecento. Of the group the lawyer Bartolus seems by far the keenest and most realistic. His crisp observations are often illuminating, as, for example, "this is not a matter for a jurist to consider, since no man can be punished for his thoughts" (p. 128).

The letters and essay of Coluccio defending secular studies against the monastic point of view, appended to the writings on tyranny, seem to the reviewer—*pace* the venerated Harvard master, who is fond of Coluccio—of no particular significance. They reveal a learned timidity

and might have appeared in the tenth or the eighteenth century. (Cf. Allen Johnson, *The Historian and Historical Evidence*, p. 103.) Coluccio harps constantly on the idea (shared by Petrarch himself) that poetry is essentially allegorical. A sample of his line of argument will show his quality as a champion. "Even if you consider the Song of Songs according to the letter, what can you find in the poets more erotic or more in the pastoral style—or even equally obscene or dealing more frankly with the nastiness of lust?—a book which, when you come to think of it, should relieve all poets from the charge of filthy language or of risky detail of invention" (p. 335). This is rather hard on Solomon. Surely John of Salisbury's defense of the classics in his *Metalogicus*, with its "quia otium sine litteris mors est" is more robust and captivating. And are not Gratian's arguments in the *Decretum* for the study of pagan literature less forced and at least as convincing?

The editor's introductory essay on the Fourteenth Century (pp. 3-21) is a brilliant exposition of the temper of the thirteenth century with the contrasted break-up in the fourteenth, which is characterized by "the stirrings of what I have called Revolt" (p. 20). The Italian tyrants barely squeeze into the picture. Humanism is introduced, toward the end, with these words: "It needs but a moment's reflection to perceive how closely these social and religious changes were connected with that great awakening of the human spirit to which we give the characteristic name of Humanism." The reviewer regrets his inability to agree. What had the development of monarchical power, the subsidiary rise of parliamentary institutions, the philosophy of Ockham, the assertion of the independent validity of the great vernaculars, to do with humanism? Were they not the expression of deeper and less sophisticated forces?

The robust and unobtrusive scholarship of the learned editor and his grasp upon the analogies of the medieval tyranny with modern bossism and present-day dictatorships in Europe are a constant delight. There is no index.

G. C. SELLERY.

Islam and the Divine Comedy. By MIGUEL ASÍN. Translated and abridged by Harold Sunderland. (London: John Murray. 1926. Pp. xxv, 295. 12 s.)

AN English edition of Professor Asín's *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, due to the initiative of the Duke of Berwick and Alba at Lord Balfour's suggestion, is a capital event to English readers in cultural history. It gains in value by coming six years after the original work with Asín's rejoinder to his critics now in the European reviews at our disposal.

The issues which this outstanding volume must continue to raise, alike in the Old and in the New World, are large and deep. They cut into the strata of psychology, philosophy, and theology, as well as history and

literature. They start a question more fascinating still—the poet's *ultima ratio*. That poet is “degli altri onore e lume”, and his theme is man. Did not Dante say himself of his art “subjectum est homo”?

When Asín took for his theme *La Escatologia Musulmana*, he turned the battery of Arabic scholarship on a central issue in the story of human evolution, the relations of Eastern and Western civilization, and all that these words involve. He threw out a challenge which will reverberate in this “debatable land” because he virtually claims Christendom's “sommo poeta” as a Sufí, and links him, in a chain which defies destruction, with that Grand Master in Islam of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Shaykh al Akbar Ibn u'l ‘Arabi, Muhiyyu'l Din (Revealer of Religion) on the shores of the Mediterranean, a potent name at this very hour from Morocco to Damascus.

There is no space here to follow Asín's closely woven argument, though the reader should refer to his masterly but much earlier *Aben-masarra y su Escuela* (origins of the Spanish Muslim philosophy, 1914) where in the steps of his master Ribera, Asín, with characteristic modesty, began himself to disentangle this knot of psychology and literature. Ribera is the choregus of the band of Arabic scholars who are exploring this rich mine and who himself in his “contestación” of this work before the Royal Academy of Spain graciously assumes here the disciple's rather than the master's place. It was Ribera who revealed the Sufí sources of Raymond Lull in his *Orígenes de la Filosofía de Raimundo Lulio* (1899). Asín himself has determined the relation of such masters in Moslem philosophy as Avempace, Al-Ghazali, and Averroes, and has dealt in valuable monographs with the actual psychology of Islam as well as with the baffling history of the Muhammadans in Spain.

The reader should realize too that a single verse of the Koran is the trickle of the well from which this mystic flood of thought and art has sprung. It tells us of Mohammed's “Izra” (Night Journey from Mecca to Jerusalem) and his “Mi'raj” (Ascension hence to the Three Worlds which are identical with those of Dante's vision). These are still, to orthodox Islam, the crowning occasion of worship in the Moslem sacred year. They present the mystic experiences of the Great Prophet himself, as elaborated in the “Traditions” (Hadiths) of the Koran. They recur in the experience of Ibn ‘Arabi himself. The works of the Revealer of Religion circulate from the presses of Cairo and Constantinople throughout the Moslem world. But mystic Islam, during the long six centuries which yawn in time and space between the East and West, the ancient and the modern age, wrought in thought and art, in verse and prose, in science and in vision, sometimes in ironic mood, oftener in devotion, a bridge which spans that gulf.

Now Asín rests and fixes the bewildered student's eye upon the keystone in this bridge. He reveals the startling fact that throughout these ages the seers had one design—the fusion of inherited traditions and

experienced visions in a psychology which was their own, a philosophy of Aristotle (neoplatonized) which they recreated, a theology of Islam which they transformed and transfigured. But this keystone holds together and relates the mass of Moslem legendary matter which sprang from and gathered round its germ in the Koran, its mystical developments in Islam, and its antitype in the legendary lore of Christendom. As concerns the realm of art, the grand architectural lines of the design are enriched with ever accumulating decoration, until they are crowned by the creations of Ibn 'Arabi, a mystical philosopher and poet who seems no other than Dante's other self.

The actual contents of Asín's work are: first, the analysis of the various versions which the legend assumes through six centuries and their interpretation in the hands of the Moslem mystics; secondly, the comparison of these with the *Divina Commedia*; thirdly, an account of like legends in Christendom; and lastly, the conclusion to which he is compelled, that, what a supreme poet can owe to any other soul, is due in Dante's case to Moslem rather than to Christian sources. "There is more in a single canto", says Asín, "from Moslem sources than in the whole of the *Commedia* from his predecessors in Christendom."

Asín has been content to dissect his case with an anatomist's knife; he has not given us the new synthesis of Dante's works which his research reveals. But it is not in the *disjecta membra* of analysis that he finds his solution. He insists on the spirit rather than the matter of his revelations. The startling identity in substance and structure of these traditions and of Dante's vision is altogether overshadowed by a deeper concord in Ibn 'Arabi's and Dante's creations, a concord which has its foundation in experiences of the soul. These two men, of whom the former died within twenty-five years of the other's birth, passed through the same crisis in their life and art. Both stood before the bar of judgment in their own day for sins of the flesh which they are charged with having disguised in their creations as symbols of the spirit. Dante is still charged to-day by his English exponents with gross inconsistency in his art and insincerity in his life. The parallel between their art, its real formulation and its true interpretation, is the point which awaits the student's attention. Asín reveals an absolute parallel between their answers from the standpoint of spiritual experience—Ibn 'Arabi in his "Revelations" or Conflicts and Victories (*Futūhāt*), in his "Interpreter" (*Tarjumān*), and in his "Treasures" (or Communings) of Divine Love, Dante in his *Convito*, the *Canzoniere*, and *Vita Nuova*—the single theme of all of which is the same New Life.

That issue is but one of many, which Asín's researches transfer to another court of justice. Greater issues, however, than this are at stake, although to change the metaphor, such scholarship as his may well claim to have "upturned rich germinating spices" in this soil of Spanish-Arabian art, which awaits, he tells us, much patient spade-labor.

Time alone can show how this first installment of research will affect the outlook in other fields than that to which Asín confines his present work.

What was Dante's real source? Was it an experience of his own, which derived from a source common indeed to Islam and Christendom, open to all ages, but peculiarly open in an age when intuition was more active than intellect? This theology of the East, with its room for reason and mystic speculation by the side of creed, has its significance for the theologian; this philosophy of the unconscious, its meaning for the metaphysician; this study of multipersonality, a message to the psychologist. We think of Dante's "modo tutto fuor del modern' uso" (of his way, beyond the wisdom of to-day). There is a future as well as a past, in this touch of East and West.

The English title of the book suggests perhaps some such conclusion as his Bollandist critic (in *Analecta Bollandiana*), who understands Asín's idea to be that "the great epic of Christendom is throned within mystic Islam as in a mosque barred to Moslems but consecrated to Christian worship".

"The sphynx awaits", as Scartazzini, its most literal exponent, was wont to reiterate, "its Oedipus". That is true surely in many ways of what Witte once called the "Art of Misunderstanding Dante". But readers who steep themselves in Asín's discovery will, if they are already saturated with the *Commedia*, exclaim, to borrow Shelley's line: "Behold a wonder worthy of the rime." Professor Asín has here broadcasted in the terms of scholarship that "New Light" which Dante vouchsafed in the *Convito* and began to serve as the bread which men must use if they would sit down at his high table to consume the courses of that "Banquet". These pages tell us that the Moslem mystics were moved like Dante in their lifetime to "rise on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things". They reveal the secret stairs toward

L'amor che muove il sole, e le altre stelle.

They show us those God-intoxicated souls of Islam on the path

"Of him who, from the lowest depths of hell,
Through every paradise and through all glory,
Love led serene, and who returned to tell
The words of hate and awe; the wondrous story
How all things are transfigured except Love."

S. UDNY.

The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216 to 1360. By G. R. GALBRAITH, M.A., Ph.D., Member of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XLIV.] (Manchester: University Press; London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1925. Pp. xvi, 286. 12 s. 6 d.)

DOMINICANISM, with its seven hundred years of multiform activity in the Church, the world, and the universities, offers richer yields than any other field of medieval historical investigation. Scholars are beginning to realize this and so we find in our own day an increasing literature on the subject, even in English which has been lamentably behind other languages. Dr. Galbraith's study is as fine a piece of finished work as we possess in any language. Not only does she lay under contribution the known data on the subject of which she treats, but she has unearthed much precious information of which we never dreamed. Only once do we not agree with her deductions and that is when with unwarranted subjectivism she essays to tell us what St. Dominic would do in the world to-day.

The purpose of this splendid study is to give us an idea of the gradual growth and the internal functioning of the Dominican Order along the lines laid down by its first legislators during the first century and one-half of its existence. Of course we know that St. Dominic never wrote a rule adopting, on the command of the pope who followed in this the injunction of the second Lateran Council, the so-called rule of St. Augustine which is nothing else than a letter written by St. Augustine to a body of women who sought to lead a cloistered life. Certain customs, *consuetudines*, were taken over from the Premonstratensian Order, with whose legislation Dominic was familiar. Jordan of Saxony, the second general, wrote down these explicitly declared wishes of Dominic, but this first written code of the order has been, it would seem, irretrievably lost. The third general, St. Raymond of Pennaforte—outstanding canonist of the Middle Ages and father of the casuistic method in the teaching of moral theology—drew up a rule which is still in force and which is expanded, as need and occasion arise, by the enactments of the general chapters enjoying full legislative authority. Because the ordinations of the Dominican general chapters are binding on the friars, and because the third acceptance by a chapter of such an ordination, or *inchoatio*, incorporates it officially and authentically in the *corpus* of the Dominican code, it is easy to see why a study of the progressive legislation of the order is not only highly interesting but also deeply instructive.

Just what the law-making genius of the friars of the few first generations was is plainly evidenced in these pages—in fact Dr. Galbraith vouchsafes us *acta* of chapters which so far have escaped notice. To make plain who the legislators of the order were, what prerogatives they enjoyed, and how they exercised them, forms the subject of several solid

chapters on the various officials of this institute. If we keep in mind that the application of the Dominican common law devolves on the provincial in his province and the prior in his convent it is easy to understand the writer's solicitude to set forth fully their juridic standing in the Dominican scheme. Incidentally, the learned author pays high tribute to the founder who did not believe in multiplying laws unnecessarily. The history of the Dominican Order and the work of Dr. Galbraith make it abundantly plain that democratic ideals prevailed in medieval times where we should least expect to find them—in a monastery where men took a vow of obedience to a superior. But, as the author says finely, the greatest glory of this code is that, though not so idealistic as that of the Franciscans, it still through its sweet reasonableness was supremely workable and strikingly modern. And despite the capitular legislation of seven hundred years the order has not departed from the basic ideals of its founder. Therefore Dominic still lives in the code of his followers—and that code has never been torn by schism or any other notable internal dissension. We need a serious study on the legal mind and genius of Dominic Guzman who, as Hauck says in his *Kirchengeschichte*, was none the less a sharply defined personality for all his statesmanlike outlook and activity.

If all future works on the Dominican Order are done with the care, competency, and conscience of Dr. Galbraith's study we may hope to be introduced into one of the most suggestive religious institutes of the rich Middle Ages.

THOMAS M. SCHWERTNER, O.P.

Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England. By C. L. KINGSFORD. [The Ford Lectures, 1923-1924.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1925. Pp. vii, 216, map. 15 s.)

THE cryptic title of this book is explained in the preface, where, after accounting for a certain discursiveness of topic and treatment, the author says: "But I had always before me two main ideas: the one, that the truth about fifteenth-century England had been distorted through the prejudice of chronicles and Tudor historians; the other, that the truth could only be discovered by the study from different sources of the Fifteenth Century as the seed-time of the future." The first lecture investigates the prejudice which Shakespeare took over from the second edition of Holinshed's chronicles, the work of a "syndicate" which drew heavily upon the tendenciously Tudor and Protestant Hall. The sixth and last lecture makes specific and detailed examination of the operation of a similar prejudice against the good name of the murdered Suffolk, whose memory is cleared of the stain upon it which appears, for example, in the *Second Part of Henry VI*. Incidentally the reader may gain from these lectures fresh knowledge of the immortal *genus* politician.

The promise of the period comes out in the middle group of four lectures, entitled English Letters and the Intellectual Ferment, Social Life and the Wars of the Roses, West Country Piracy: the School of English Seamen, and London in the Fifteenth Century. There is much detail and much too of the flavor of the times. "The fifteenth century and its politics are to us remote, but when we are thus brought into contact with the everlasting element of common humanity we begin to understand the past. [The author interjects a bit of professorial wisdom.] Identity in difference and difference in identity might be described as two of the chief problems for the historian. It is easier to see the difference than the identity; but without a sense of the latter all study of history, whether political or social, is vain" (pp. 29-30). The "element of common humanity" comes out sharply in these four lectures. The disturbances wrought by the Wars of the Roses did not seriously affect the growth of wealth or of civic, religious, and private building, the increase of schools, or the growing employment of English. Here again the operation of sixteenth-century prejudice is revealed.

The lecture on piracy shows the existence of much callous roguery. The captains of Devon and Cornwall were hand and glove with the ordinary citizens and even men of property of the West Country, to prevent the suppression of the pirates (the captains), who preyed on friend and foe, native and foreigner. The commissioners appointed by the government to prosecute the pirates and their accomplices were themselves frequently participants or "stockholders" in piratical enterprises. The author finds some consolation in the by-products of these malodorous exploits. "Notwithstanding . . . , we must recognize in these West Country pirates that same hardy and audacious spirit which a hundred years later inspired their descendants to nobler achievements in a greater sphere" (p. 106).

The lecture on London examines the political manoeuvrings of the guilds and the trading companies (who make straight the way for the Tudor adventurers) and shows the wealthier ones, as usual, dominating the city. But much of this long and instructive lecture, which covers nearly forty pages, is given over to a "fancied perambulation" of the city, its secular buildings, churches, and larger and smaller houses. The author also furnishes a map he has made to show the wards and principal structures. An enormous amount of specialized lore is utilized in this lecture.

Professor Kingsford draws his material largely from "less familiar and so far as possible unprinted sources" (preface). Illustrative *pièces* from the Chancery proceedings which supplied the bulk of the material on the pirates are given in the appendix. The book is extraordinarily erudite. The index leaves something to be desired; the first two tests the reviewer made yielded negative results.

G. C. SELLERY.

Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements. By LOUIS ISRAEL NEWMAN, Ph.D. [Columbia University Oriental Studies, vol. XXIII.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1925. Pp. xxvii, 706. \$7.50.)

THE author believes that Jews and Judaism had much more to do with what from one point of view are called reforms and from another heresies in Christian history than is generally recognized. He endeavors to demonstrate this by investigations of various such movements in the Middle Ages—the Cathari (Albigenses), the Waldensians, and the obscure Lombard sect of the Passagii—and in the Reformation period, for which he selects as typical figures John Huss, Zwingli, and Servetus, with more summary observations on Luther's debt to Judaism and the Hebraic features of American Puritanism. Future volumes are promised, on the Jewish foundations of Christianity and on the convergence of modern Christianity and Judaism. "Jewish influence", or "Judaizing", in his use of words, includes the Hebrew studies of Christian scholars, the recourse to the authority of the Bible (of which the Old Testament has always been an integral part) by sects and parties that fell out with ecclesiastical orthodoxy or supremacy, the doctrine and order of the Protestant reformers, and the Old Testament type of Puritan religiousness.

On these and many other subjects (including the Inquisition) he has accumulated a mass of information, not always relevant and not remarkably accurate. The volume is an instructive illustration of the kind of "research" that can be done by the aid of card catalogues and bibliographies without any substantial capital of learning, and of what happens when it is done in that way.

For exemplification we may take the "investigation" (pp. 511-609) of Servetus, "anti-Trinitarian Judaizer", "the foremost figure in the early years of the modern anti-Trinitarian or Unitarian movement".¹

By a flagrant anachronism (p. 522) Servetus is said to have gone "beyond even the current Socinianism". Now, Servetus published his *De Trinitatis Erroribus* in 1531,² and the *Dialogi de Trinitate* in 1532, seven or eight years before Faustus Socinus was born (1539); the latter was a boy of fourteen when Servetus was burned (1553). The doctrines which long after became current under the name Socinian diametrically contradict the position of Servetus on the nature of Christ's sonship. The Racovian catechism expressly rejects it as *merum humanum commentum*.

Servetus's theories of the constitution of the Godhead are not easy to define. Even an intelligent misunderstanding of them requires more than a superficial acquaintance with the transient phase of philosophy to which he was addicted, and a first-hand knowledge of the history of doctrine, heresy, and controversy, from the Fathers to the Reformers. But on the

¹ See also p. 608 f.

² On the same page we are told that "the book was disseminated widely in Italy where Laelius and Faustus Socinus doubtless perused it".

crucial issue between Christianity and Judaism, the deity of Christ, there is no room for misunderstanding.

The *Restitutio* begins with three fundamental propositions: 1, "Hic [*sc.* the Jesus of the Gospel narrative, 'the man who was flogged and scourged'] est Jesus Christus"; 2, "Hic est filius Dei"; 3, "Hic est Deus". How literally he means these words is shown by such amplification as, "Christus vero est naturali nativitate Deus, naturaliter genitus de substantia Dei" (p. 16);³ or, "Dicitur vere Deus, substantialiter Deus, cum in eo sit deitas corporaliter" (p. 14). Silence is eloquent when nowhere in this hundred-page "investigation" of Servetus does Dr. Newman give the smallest intimation of the contention of Servetus, consistently maintained and passionately affirmed, that Jesus Christ was God. He was convinced that by his conception of the nature of Christ's sonship he was establishing the complete deity of Jesus Christ against the "trinitarians" who made him only an incarnation of one of the "Persons" of their Trinity, and restoring the primitive and true doctrine of the Trinity.⁴ He quotes Augustine:⁵ "Genuit Maria, non genuit filium Dei, genuit filium hominis", and exclaims, "Horresco ad hanc blasphemiam, quod Maria non genuerit filium Dei". By an incomprehensible mis-translation of this passage Dr. Newman extracts from it that Servetus "does not shrink from a condemnation of the doctrine of the Virgin Birth as blasphemy" (p. 601)! This is not the only place where Dr. Newman flounders in the most elementary of Latin. Servetus writes: "Ut hodie Judaeos et Muhammetanos pluries seipsos baptizantes [performing frequent ritual ablutions]⁶ videmus"; Newman renders: "We see today many Jews and Mohammedans becoming baptized" (p. 514),⁷ and learns from it "that Servetus was aware of Jewish and Moorish conversions to Christianity". The quotations in the foot-notes swarm with transcriptional and typographical blunders. Evidently, in this university publication, the proofs were at no stage read by anyone who knows the Latin language.

Errors in what are politely assumed to be matters of common historical knowledge are numerous, frequently ludicrous, and sometimes imaginatively elaborated. The first printed Septuagint (1518), from the famous press founded by Aldus Manutius in Venice, becomes "a Greek Bible published at Aldine in 1518" (p. 461). The following is more recondite: "In the national sanctuary, at Caroccio [*sic*], there was an imitation of the Ark of the Covenant with Christian emblems. White oxen drew the Ark", etc. (p. 243). It is not quite so innocent when the well-known passage in the preface to the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes, comparing the Vulgate in the middle column on the page, with the Septua-

³ *Substantia* in its ordinary non-metaphysical sense.

⁴ See especially the *Apologia ad Philippum Melancthonem*.

⁵ This quotation, for which Newman gives no reference, is in *Restitutio*, p. 39.

⁶ The context is clear (*Restitutio*, p. 530).

⁷ Cf. p. 527!

gint of the Greek Church on one side and the Hebrew of the Synagogue on the other, to Christ between the two thieves, is declared to be "part of a general campaign by certain illiterate and suspicious monks to arrest the growth of the Hebraic movement"! (p. 94).

Finally, there are not a few slips in matters of specifically Jewish learning, as in the attribution of the Targum on the Psalms to Onkelos (p. 556); or "Rabbi Nathan's" Hebrew Bible (p. 100); there is a nest of them on page 92.

There is a full, and so far as I have had occasion to use it, satisfactory index.

GEORGE F. MOORE.

Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction. By JAMES ARTHUR MULLER, Ph.D., Professor of Church History, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xvi, 429. \$4.00.)

It is rather surprising that Stephen Gardiner has had to wait so long for a biographer. He was, after Wolsey and Cromwell, the most important personage in the political retinue of Henry VIII. and during the closing years of Henry's life the most influential man in England. Though he suffered a temporary eclipse under Edward VI. he stepped at once, upon Mary's accession, from the Tower to the highest place in the gift of the crown and, so long as he lived, was her prime minister. Unless we except Laud he was the last of the great English ecclesiastical statesmen. The son of a cloth-maker of Bury St. Edmunds, he became in his time a doctor of both laws, a principal secretary, a bishop of Winchester, an ambassador to France, and ultimately a lord chancellor. In addition to all these he had a witty and engaging personality and showed a mastery of colloquial English greater perhaps than that of any sixteenth-century statesman. And yet up to this time nothing more pretentious in the way of a biography of him has appeared than Dr. James Gairdner's brief account in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and Mr. Mullinger's sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Dr. Muller has done much to make good the deficiency, so much that one could wish he had done more. He has drawn a very attractive and convincing picture of Gardiner's character. He has explained, it may almost be conceded that he has justified, Gardiner's religious position throughout the various changes in the official creed which lay between Henry's famous divorce case and the return of England to the Roman fold under Mary. It would perhaps be demanding too much of him to demand much more in the space to which he has limited himself or to which his publishers have limited him. But it is questionable if an adequate biography of a man so intricately involved in so many complicated situations can be set forth in a little over three hundred pages.

Gardiner's religion was very likely the most important matter in his career, but it was by no means the whole story. Students of political institutions will naturally turn to his biography for information upon the compass of his functions as principal secretary, as privy councillor, as chief of the conservative faction in the House of Lords. He happened to occupy all of these positions at a very obscure yet very important period of their development. But Dr. Muller ignores all considerations of this sort. He is also quite distressingly brief on foreign affairs. In his last chapter he asks us to believe that Gardiner was a "diplomat of unrivalled knowledge of Continental politics, and Continental personages", but there is little in the book itself to substantiate this conclusion. So too he pronounces Gardiner "a party chief skilled in all the Tudor methods of marshalling majorities", but we are told little about his partizans and nothing at all about his technique. If the facts are at hand to establish the generalization Dr. Muller should have set them forth. Not enough is known about party chiefs and the marshalling of majorities under the Tudors to justify the suppression of any morsel of pertinent data.

Of Gardiner's private life, of his relation to contemporary art and letters, or of his attitude toward some of the outstanding economic problems of his time, such as the carrying trade and the enclosure movement, Dr. Muller says little or nothing. It is doubtless a good deal easier to ask questions about such matters than it is to answer them, but one does not feel sure that Dr. Muller has seriously considered their importance. The book gives the impression of having been written around Gardiner's surviving letters and papers and of having ignored or slighted all those matters to which these letters and papers do not allude. There is, however, no lack of evidence of careful and painstaking workmanship. The foot-notes, discreetly removed from the view of the casual reader, are scholarly; the bibliography is useful, and the list of Gardiner's extant writings valuable. We can not be persuaded that Dr. Muller has exhausted the possibilities of his subject, but he is evidently well qualified to do so if time and grace be given him.

CONYERS READ.

La Mère des Guises, Antoinette de Bourbon, 1494-1583. Par GABRIEL DE PIMODAN. Nouvelle édition. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1925. Pp. iii, 426. 20 fr.)

THIS is a second edition of a book published in 1889. The occasion of the new edition was the death of the author, the Marquis de Pimodan, Duc de Rarecourt Pimodan, a descendant of Antoinette de Bourbon. He lived on his estates in Lorraine, serving as mayor of his village and representative of his canton in the Conseil Général for thirty-five years. During that time he published eight volumes of poetry, four volumes on historical subjects, a novel, and a drama in verse.

This work is extremely well documented; an appendix prints 28 unpublished letters from Antoinette de Bourbon and 45 addressed to her, besides a number of other *pièces justificatives*. The book itself gives, in 250 pages, a strong picture of the life of the mother and grandmother of two men who played large parts in the bloody drama of the last forty years of the sixteenth century in France.

The picture which the author gives of the life of a princess of Joinville and a duchess of Guise is drawn with a loving hand, as for example, "Good seigneurs like the Guises found none but sympathetic populations grateful for the good they did, there was no jealousy of them, nay more the vassals of the Guises were proud to have for seigneurs such great princes". "They lived happily in submission to paternal authority."

At Joinville, Antoinette de Bourbon and Claude de Guise "led a life almost royal". "The Duke's ambition was to have the finest stables in the world, and there were in them never less than a hundred to six-score horses." And it became a riding school for poor young nobles. In the surrounding forest the duke hunted and flew his hawks, presiding afterwards at dinner served at seven large tables. Music for social and religious ceremonies was furnished by four choristers and four musicians. To look after the health of the household the duke had two physicians, a surgeon, and an apothecary. For his personal service he had three secretaries, six valets, a barber, an usher, a glovemaker, and a hacquebutier to keep the arms in order. So it is not astonishing that, without counting the maids of his wife, he paid wages to a household of more than a hundred.

Out of this luxurious and splendid household came Francis of Guise, one of the great generals of France—though the author seems unaware of the unquestionable evidence that the king was really responsible for the capture of Calais and the duke an unwilling agent of the strategy of his master.

The book makes plain the hereditary religious feeling of the house. The mother-in-law of Antoinette entered a convent and her religion was of that hard character which was to fill France with intermittent bloodshed for forty years.

When the insurgent peasants crossed the Rhine in 1525 to spread the cause of "the Justice of God" into Lorraine, the princess nun thus addressed her sons, "Hurry, cut, slash, crush all who oppose your arms. . . . Do not fear to be cruel. . . . Heresy is like gangrene, it must be treated with iron or fire". Does not one seem to be reading Luther, "Against the Thievish, Murderous Hordes of Peasants"?

PAUL VAN DYKE.

The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834. By HOSEA BALLOU MORSE, LL.D. Four volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xxi, 305; vii, 435; 388; 426. 70 s.)

OCCIDENTAL students of China have for the past several years been the grateful debtors of Dr. Morse for his *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*. The three volumes of that excellent work narrate the story of the relations between the government of China and the governments of Western countries from the abolition of the East India Company's official monopoly of British trade with China (1834) through the downfall of the Manchu dynasty (1911). The four volumes of this new work carry the story one stage—and a long stage—farther back. The new work is, however, quite different from the earlier one. It does not attempt to present a narrative based upon an examination of all the important material on the subject, but is frankly a summary of the records of the East India Company as these are preserved in the India Office. These records are full and their only important gaps are 1705-1711, 1743-1744, 1748, 1752, and 1754-1774. Dr. Morse gives many of the documents *in extenso*, some of them in the body of the text, and others in appendixes. For the most part, however, he has summarized them, making of them what is rightly called in the title a chronicle. There are almost no references to other material than that contained in the records. There is, moreover, little attempt to weave the abundant information into an orderly and readable narrative: the volumes are a chronological compilation. They are, therefore, not for the general reader. They contain, however, a mine of information on the intercourse of Western peoples with China during the two centuries which they cover. They are, naturally, concerned chiefly with British trade. The kind and the amount of imports and exports, the names, by years, of the company's ships in the China trade, and the organization of the British at Canton for the conduct of the commerce, are detailed very fully. There is, too, ample material for the institutions which the Chinese developed for the conduct of the commerce, the lordly *Hoppo*, with his superintendency of trade, the steps by which there came into existence the *co-hong*, the gild of merchants to which was given the monopoly of foreign commerce at Canton, and the various regulations under which that commerce was conducted. Much light, too, is shed on the trade of other countries with China. Especially is this true of that of America, and while no great alteration is made in the story as we already know it—as it is found, for example, in the reviewer's monograph on early relations between the United States and China—there is much corroborative material, for in the later years of the East India Company's intercourse with China Americans were important competitors and it was the inroads of these energetic seafarers upon British commerce which provided the critics of the company with one of their arguments for the abolition of its monopoly. There is, too,

much information on the attempts of the British to establish diplomatic relations with China, a number of documents being given in full on both the Macartney and the Amherst embassies. There appear prominently, too, the conditions which helped to bring on the first two wars between Great Britain and China and the treaties of 1842 and 1858-1860. Chinese and British ideas of justice were different, the Chinese contending that the entire group of British traders, or at least their head men, should be held responsible for any injury to a Chinese, even when that was accidental, and that for every life taken a life should be exacted, and the British holding for individual responsibility and differentiating between injuries purposeful and accidental. Conflicts were, accordingly, very frequent; trade often suffered, to the loss of both peoples, and when the treaties were negotiated extraterritoriality seemed to both parties to promise relief. One finds, too, expressed quite early the wish that the British seize or be given possession of some island off the southern coast where they would be free from many of the annoyances to which they were subjected at Canton, a suggestion which bore fruit later in the cession of Hong Kong.

The mechanics of the volumes leave little to be desired. The print is clear, the binding good, there are interesting illustrations from contemporary paintings and drawings, and there is a very full index. For many years to come the work will be standard for purposes of reference and research.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

The Letters of Queen Victoria. Second series. A Selection from her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal between the Years 1862 and 1878. Two volumes. Edited by GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE. (London: John Murray; New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1926. Pp. xxv, 637; xii, 690. £ 2 12 s. 6 d.)

THE peculiar interest attaching to these letters becomes at once apparent as one realizes that during the sixteen years which they cover, years in which the British government was dealing with problems of the very deepest significance in domestic, imperial, and foreign affairs, the personal influence of the queen must have been at its height. Not only was she thrown on her own resources by Prince Albert's death, but her natural inclination to play a real part in the conduct of affairs was strengthened by a determination to live out the voluminous "gospel" which the prince had left behind. This determination was rooted both in a firm belief that the gospel offered the last word in political wisdom, and in a superstitious feeling (clearly fostered by Uncle Leopold) that the happiness of the "beloved Angel" might be affected by the extent to which his policies were carried out. The somewhat neurotic condition which the skeptical will deduce from this state of mind—a condition aggravated if not

engendered by agonizing grief and unflagging attention to affairs of state—persisted for several years in a painful and pathetic form. “I feel”, she wrote, in June, 1863, “like a poor hunted hare”! Yet it enabled her to claim in the fullest degree all the advantages derivable from feminine weakness, and operated as a limitation upon the activities of her advisers rather than upon her own. In particular it drove her to a seclusion which, on the one hand, imposed delay upon her ministers by keeping them and their state papers constantly on the roads to Windsor, Osborne, and Balmoral, and, on the other, gave her time for studying and intervening in matters which her advisers would usually have preferred to settle for themselves. Again, whatever her private sense of loss, the weakness and loneliness of which she incessantly complained are not observable in her public life. Her faculties, well drilled and well matured, were unimpaired by age; old friends of the prince, such as Granville, stood ready to serve her in a sense only too personal; while the marriages of her children were still enlarging the circle of Continental royalties with whom she could carry on “private” correspondence. And certainly she was strong in her convictions as to her functions and abilities. “Her Majesty”, wrote Disraeli, in February, 1867, after a discussion on cabinet reorganization, “said that in her present state of health she really had neither inclination nor energy sufficient to educate boys for such offices as War and Admiralty”. But no lack either of inclination or of energy appeared when the “education” of a prime minister or foreign secretary seemed requisite.

The letters covering the queen’s ceaseless contests with her leading ministers show that the working of the cabinet system still conformed rather less to theory than has sometimes been supposed. For example, in Palmerston’s last Cabinet Granville seems to have acted as the servant and agent of the queen, sending her confidential reports on the proceedings and divisions of opinion in the Cabinet, and on the positions assumed by individual ministers; advising her as to the best means of dealing with his chief; and receiving her suggestions as to the tactics that her sympathizers should pursue. Yet both he and his mistress might have pleaded in justification the tendency of Palmerston and Russell, “those two dreadful old men”, to commit the country to measures which neither the Cabinet nor Parliament would have been willing to approve. No doubt, too, they felt some of the justification that men derive from success, especially in connection with the Schleswig-Holstein war. The queen, while conscientiously deprecating, as the “great Prince” had taught her to do, the grateful congratulations of her English and German friends on what was believed to be her personal success in keeping England aloof from the war, could not resist patting herself a little on the back. “It IS satisfactory”, she wrote King Leopold in June, 1864, “to see that my *efforts* were not unavailing.”

Fortunately, perhaps, the queen's opportunities for such self-congratulation were infrequent, and scarcely arose at all in connection with anything outside the field of diplomacy. Indeed one feels that she failed, through rigid conservatism and through lack of insight, to obtain even such influence as she might properly have had in domestic and imperial affairs. How far she lived behind her times is shown in such incidents as her suggestion that the proper way of dealing with the Fenian disturbances was through the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the severe reproof of the Archbishop of Canterbury for encouraging the conversion of the Scots to Anglicanism. How little she cared to concern herself with current domestic politics unconnected with the army or the Church is apparent in her confessed lack of knowledge or conviction even on the matter of parliamentary reform. Her activity in matters military and ecclesiastical is an old story; but these letters supply us with some half-comic and half-pathetic instances of the considerations governing the choice of England's spiritual leaders. Outstanding is Disraeli's apparently sincere objection to the appointment of Archbishop Tait as a man possessed of "a strange fund of enthusiasm, a quality which ought never to be possessed by an Archbishop of Canterbury". For all this it would be a mistake to assume that these volumes are not of value for the study of developments at home and in the colonies. For the queen was constantly working to secure ministerial stability, and to allay the growing feeling in the Commons against the Lords; while her advisers kept her copiously supplied with information and advice on matters for which she cared little if at all.

But the interest of most readers will centre, as did that of the queen herself, on the documents dealing with foreign affairs. Those relating to years for which the Record Office papers have not been (till very recently) available supply many a stone to fill out the half-completed mosaic with which we have had to content ourselves so far; and even for the earlier years the pictures are decidedly enriched. As for Queen Victoria, it may be said that her foreign policy in general stands the test of examination rather well. True, she had at times to be curbed or spurred, as at others she curbed or spurred her ministers: true, she could view German or Italian unification only from the standpoint of the dispossessed minor royalties. But, blind as she was to the movements of her time, biassed, impressionable, and passionate withal, she none the less followed the main lines of policy that tradition and experience had long marked out. Peace and non-intervention save where the interests of the nation were obviously concerned; support of European equilibrium and opposition to encroachments on the Low Countries or the routes to India: principles of this tried and well-worn sort were the main determinants of her policy. And, when aroused by the threatened violation of such principles, capitals and italics could hardly suffice to express the queen's readiness to fight. "Though *all* the *other* POWERS should stand *aloof*", she wrote,

in April, 1867, when Belgium seemed in danger, "England in such a case MUST NOT stand aloof."

Finally it must be noted that the panorama from Windsor's round tower embraces a good deal of Continental landscape. A number of letters from the Crown Princess Victoria and other Prussian royalties give freshly colored pictures of persons and conditions at the focussing point of European politics. None of these pictures is more intriguing than that of the princess herself in her relations with Bismarck, "the wicked man". Now she is reviling him, now declaring him a "myth" (this in December, 1877), and now acting as his mouthpiece. She is impatient of suggestions that the Chancellor, in suggesting England's seizure of Egypt, has any *arrière-pensée*.

The editing is admirable. The task of making, from the vast accumulation of papers at Windsor, a selection which would mirror in faithful proportion the developments of the day, and enrich, without too greatly overlapping, the mass of documents already accessible in print, was clearly no easy one. But Mr. Buckle's volumes hold, edify, and amuse the reader from end to end. The picture of the Queen of England, unwillingly embarked from Osborne on a windy day, conferring on a very sea-sick Sultan (later to be associated with "Bulgarian atrocities") that highest award for Christian chivalry, the treasured Garter, will do all three. No doubt Abdul Aziz, forgetting for the moment certain recent Gallic blandishments, which were forgotten neither at Osborne nor at Downing Street, felt himself, as on a previous occasion, "*touché jusqu'aux larmes*".

HERBERT C. BELL.

Die Rheinpolitik Kaiser Napoleons III. von 1863 bis 1870 und der Ursprung des Krieges von 1870-1871. Von HERMANN ONCKEN. Three volumes. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1926. Pp. xix, 121, 382; 591; 550. 45 M.)

THIS is a capital contribution to historical knowledge. Apart from the great and still unfinished French official publication, *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871*, nothing has yet appeared of equal importance for the study of the international politics of the decade preceding the Franco-German War. For these three volumes consist of a rich collection of documents bearing upon the policy of Napoleon III. towards Germany from February, 1863, down to August, 1870, taken from the Prussian, Austrian, Bavarian, Württemberg, and Baden archives, and from certain unpublished memoirs and diaries. It is above all the correspondence of the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors at Paris that has been most copiously drawn upon; and in view of Napoleon III.'s inveterate habit of carrying on his most important negotiations behind the backs of his own ministers by direct dealings with foreign diplomats, and in view of the exceptional intimacy and confidence which both he and the empress at times accorded to Count Goltz, the Prussian representative, or

Prince Metternich, the Austrian ambassador, the reports of these diplomats may be said to outrank in importance, for the understanding of the emperor's policy, the correspondence of the French Foreign Office as given in *Les Origines Diplomatiques*.

This is decidedly a work with a thesis. This fact comes to light in the choice of the documents to be printed or to be omitted; in the critical foot-notes; in the titles of the sections into which the work is divided; above all in the narrative of 121 pages in the first volume, which attempts to set forth the conclusions to be drawn from the new materials. The thesis is, in brief, that the grand goal of the foreign policy of Napoleon III. was always to steal as much as possible of the German Rhinelands. Far from being the man of generous and disinterested international ideals, the doctrinaire and even quixotic champion of the principle of nationality, the emperor merely continued under an altered form the classic policy of Richelieu, Louis XIV., the Convention, and the first Napoleon, with the triple aim of winning the Rhine frontier, keeping Germany divided and helpless, and thus establishing the French hegemony over the Continent. Behind all the mask of pompous, humanitarian phrases, amidst all the changes of his restless and to contemporaries unfathomable policy, the emperor "thought only of how, by what new means adapted to the circumstances of the time, he could most surely approach this goal". Napoleon's aggressive and perfidious policy, his perpetual plots against a peaceful and inoffensive neighboring nation were the real causes of the War of 1870 and of the revival of that Franco-German antagonism which has ever since had such fateful consequences for the peace of the world.

This view marks a reaction to a conception of Napoleon III. which was very widespread sixty years ago but which in recent times has seemed pretty well abandoned. It goes far beyond the position even of Bismarck's official historiographer, Heinrich von Sybel, who threw the blame for the events of 1870 more upon the French people than upon their ruler. It stands in sharpest contrast to the view of Émile Ollivier that, except in some moments of panic and aberration towards the close of the reign, the foreign policy of Napoleon III. was supremely disinterested; that on the northeast he would have desired for France, at the most, a slight rectification of the frontier imposed upon her by her enemies in 1815 (the recovery, *e.g.*, of the boundaries of 1814); that as to the Rhine frontier, "he never thought of it". We have to do, then, with a set of documents selected to prove an extreme thesis, and, it must be added, with an editor who combines a total blindness to the blemishes on the German side of the record with an attitude towards everything French that shows only too clearly the effects of the late war.

The documents here published begin with the Polish crisis of 1863, which for the first time gives Professor Oncken a chance to indict Napoleon for the crime of *lèse-Allemagne*. Prince Metternich's now famous

reports relating the assuredly astonishing overtures which he received at that time from Napoleon and Eugène are printed more fully than ever before; but it is hard to agree with the editor in believing that Napoleon cared nothing whatever about the Polish cause but was driven into intervention solely by lust for the German Rhine. The Schleswig-Holstein crisis is passed over very briefly, as furnishing little incriminating evidence, nor is there much that is new here in regard to Gastein or Biarritz. It is characteristic that Professor Oncken has the courage to believe that Bismarck reported to his king the whole truth about his dealings with Napoleon at Biarritz, and that he brands as "legends" the stories about Bismarck's insidious offers to the emperor at that time (Belgium, Luxembourg, or French Switzerland), although most people will probably continue to hold just the contrary of both these opinions.

The documents become more copious from the time when the clash between the two great German powers grew imminent and, in the face of an anxious or excited public opinion in France, Napoleon was forced to adopt a more active policy in the German question. On the events of 1866 the materials here printed are extraordinarily interesting: especially on Napoleon's dealings with Austria on the eve of the war, on those unofficial proposals for a Franco-Prusso-Italian alliance (emanating from Prince Jerome Napoleon and his circle) of which Bismarck tried to make capital in 1870, and on the negotiations between Napoleon and Goltz during the weeks after Sadowa by which the new status of central Europe took shape and Bismarck's triumph was sealed. Even more interesting, however, are the documents that fill most of Oncken's second volume, bearing upon Napoleon's three subsequent attempts to gain "compensations" for France to offset the enormous gains of Prussia. The genesis of the famous "Benedetti Treaty" may be said to be fully revealed, now that the evidence of the *Origines Diplomatiques* and the Cerçay papers is supplemented by the Prussian official correspondence. The new documents show, notably, that after the rejection of the first French demand for compensation (on the Rhine) it was Bismarck himself and Goltz who pointed the French to Belgium and Luxembourg, as they had done many times already in the past; so that it was scarcely an exaggeration if the French later maintained that this ill-fated project for a secret treaty was "at least as much Bismarck's work as Benedetti's".

But probably the most valuable portion of the work is that which deals with the Franco-Austro-Italian alliance negotiations of 1867-1870. Approximately five hundred pages of documents are given bearing upon this subject, which down to only a few years ago was still shrouded in mystery. On the circumstances leading immediately to the outbreak of war in 1870, on the other hand, Oncken offers little of much interest, except some highly colored reports of Metternich from Paris, which are indeed pretty damaging to the reputation of Napoleon, Gramont, and Ollivier, but which may not necessarily represent the last word in the interpretation of their conduct.

These volumes suffer from all too frequent inaccuracy in the reproduction of texts, especially those in the French language, an inaccuracy that sometimes produces comic results, as when (I. 27) Drouyn de Lhuys is made to hail the envoy of victorious Prussia with the words, "Vous êtes couvert de lanciers" (obviously "lauriers"). The editor's narrative and his critical comments are likewise often inaccurate about facts: on occasion he even manages to state just the opposite of the truth, as when he says (I. 20) that "Bismarck Ende Dezember 1863 aus dem Abgesandten des Kaisers, General Fleury, das Stichwort der Rheinlande herausgelockt hatte". The whole plan of this work, moreover, may be criticized on the ground that the editor has not offered all the important documents available to him that might illustrate Napoleon's German or Rhenish policy, but only those documents that might seem to fit in with his thesis about Napoleon's hankerings for the German Rhine or his evil designs towards Germany in general. The basis of selection seems decidedly arbitrary. If all the documents relating to the Franco-Austro-Italian alliance negotiations are pertinent, why are not all the documents relating to the Hohenzollern candidacy for the throne of Spain (a subject very much minimized here)? In general, it seems impossible to agree with the author's claim to have discovered the true key to Napoleon's foreign policy and to have brought the question about the origins of the War of 1870 to a final conclusion. No really adequate interpretation of the aims of Napoleon's foreign policy can be gained without a study of the first as well as of the second decade of his reign; without considering, in the period treated in this work, the totality of his foreign relations (as is done in the *Origines Diplomatiques*) and not merely certain aspects of his relations with Germany; without considering also those sides of the picture that are, one might almost say, studiously neglected in this work, namely, Bismarck's long series of insidious overtures, traps, and provocations towards France. In short, the three volumes here under consideration contain a mine of extraordinarily rich historical material, much of which has hitherto not been utilized; they throw light on a host of diplomatic transactions of that momentous decade; they can scarcely fail to impair the more favorable conception of Napoleon III. which has developed in recent years; but it will remain for more objective historians to strike a just balance between the equally exaggerated views of writers like Oncken on the one side and Ollivier on the other.

R. H. LORD.

Life and Letters of W. T. Stead. By FREDERIC WHYTE. Two volumes. (London: Jonathan Cape; New York and Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1925. Pp. 345, 368. 36 s.)

WILLIAM THOMAS STEAD was the most distinguished of the many well-known victims of the *Titanic* disaster of April, 1912. For younger people, throughout the English-speaking world, modern history began

with the events of the summer of 1914. It is only those who were of mature years, participating to some extent in the intellectual and social life of the two or three decades preceding the Great War, who can possibly realize how stormily Stead was waging "War against War" and "fighting for peace", while he was the chief journalistic apostle of Britain's supreme naval power, and the man who above all others proclaimed the gospel of a world redeemed through the prevailing influence of the English-speaking race.

It was from Mr. Stead that Cecil Rhodes had caught the vision of a vast South African extension of the areas "painted British red", and ruled under the superior principles and methods of the British colonial system. And it was largely due to Mr. Stead's influence that Andrew Carnegie built the Peace Palace at the Hague in the ardent hope that the threatened Great War might be averted by the adoption of arbitration and armament reduction, with the gradual evolution of a United States of Europe.

W. T. Stead was the son of a Congregational minister in the north of England and entered provincial journalism while in his teens. He was intensely religious in a personal way, and in politics he belonged to the radical wing of the Liberal party. With burning convictions and unquenchable ardor, he supported the Gladstonian crusades against Lord Beaconsfield and the Tories, in the period of the Bulgarian atrocities, the Russo-Turkish War, and the Congress of Berlin. John Morley was editing the *Pall Mall Gazette*, at that time the most notable afternoon London newspaper. An assistant editor was needed, and Stead, who had now made his reputation as a brilliant writer on the *Northern Echo* at Darlington near Newcastle-on-Tyne, was offered the position. He came to London in 1880, aged thirty-one; and he and Morley together conducted what was undoubtedly the most influential paper in the United Kingdom. Mr. Morley left journalism three or four years later to enter upon his eminent career in Parliament, and Mr. Stead was made editor-in-chief.

Although journalism supplied the agency through which he sought to influence public opinion, Stead was always the political and moral crusader rather than the vendor of news, the interpreter of events, or the mere supporter of party policies.

While editing the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Stead wrote a series of articles called "The Truth about the Navy". He created a violent agitation in Admiralty circles and in Parliament, and the episode led to important practical improvements that will have given the editor a permanent place in naval history. At the instance of General Booth and the leaders of the Salvation Army, the *Pall Mall Gazette* was used by Mr. Stead to expose the white slave traffic; and this crusade, although extremely sensational and bitterly controversial in its details, was of world-wide consequence in its effects upon domestic legislation and upon international efforts to abate a serious evil.

In that period Mr. Stead was known as "pro-Russian". He had great sympathy for the efforts of the Russian people to find safe paths of transition from inherited absolutism to modern freedom. As his first personal venture in Continental experience, he went to St. Petersburg and succeeded in interviewing the tsar. His letters from Russia, appearing in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, also took book form. He remained warmly pro-Russian in his attitude during the rest of his life.

Disagreement with the owner of the *Pall Mall Gazette*—who was not in sympathy with the crusading campaigns of the editor, and with what seemed to be utter lack of prudence from the standpoint of the newspaper's business office—led to Mr. Stead's abrupt resignation. He had formed the idea of a monthly periodical which should be largely devoted to his own writing upon contemporary affairs, while also summarizing for his readers the views that were finding expression in other periodicals, particularly those of foreign countries. At that time there was much less space given in newspapers to international news than has been the case since the Great War; and the new periodical, which made its appearance at the beginning of 1890 and was called the *Review of Reviews*, was an immediate success.

Mr. Stead at once encouraged and promoted the founding of an American *Review of Reviews*, which, however, after a year or two of more complete co-operation, adopted a wholly independent course, although maintaining a certain relationship with its English contemporary. After a year or two, the English *Review of Reviews* became rather the organ of Mr. Stead's personal views and active interests than the impartial exponent of world discussion. But it throbbed with vitality, and it never lacked human interest, though frequently controversial, and relentless in its antagonisms.

The authorized biography of W. T. Stead appears in two ample volumes, edited, compiled, and written by Frederic Whyte. The work has been done diligently and with intelligence. It is admirably well balanced and impartial in its attempt to portray the character and the relationships of an altogether extraordinary personality. It is plain, however, that Mr. Whyte has been overburdened by a mass of available material. For forty years Stead had expressed himself constantly in print. And when he was not writing for publication he was engaged in correspondence of a significant sort with public and private persons in many countries, so that hundreds of thousands of letters came under Mr. Whyte's editorial surveillance.

This was the same kind of task that John Morley encountered in writing the *Life* of Gladstone. In that case, however, William Stead, jr., the eldest son of W. T. Stead, had spent two or three years in doing the preliminary sifting and sorting for Mr. Morley. Conscientious biographers of Theodore Roosevelt, in like manner, have the same experience. They are baffled by the mountainous areas of highly pertinent data. Mr.

Whyte does not belong to the new cult of biography led by the facile and charming Strachey, who is followed vainly by crowds of impudent and fatuous scribblers. The present author has made a solid and enduring contribution to the literature that deals with the personalities and topics prominent in British life, during the period of twenty years preceding the Boer War with the dozen years that followed it.

The various estimates of Mr. Stead that are compiled by Mr. Whyte are rather contradictory and confusing. Having acquitted himself of this effort, so largely documentary, Mr. Whyte could doubtless after an interval of three or four years disregard the evidence in the case, abstain from quoting miscellaneous obituary judgments, and write a convincing and readable biography of W. T. Stead in brief chapters entirely apart from the Stead letter-books, the files of newspapers and periodicals, and the accumulated opinions of friends and enemies.

While the parallelism was not very close, it may be well to suggest to American readers that the career of Stead in England as journalist, reformer, and man of innumerable vagaries bore resemblance in several ways to that of Horace Greeley, whose tragic death in the presidential campaign of 1872 occurred when Stead—a youth of twenty-two—was beginning to attract the attention of journalists in Newcastle and Leeds by the articles he was contributing to the Darlington paper of which he was soon afterwards to become the editor. As a journalist, Stead was the leader in England in adopting what were called American methods. He believed in the sensational appeal, although in subject-matter and in motive he was serious enough. It was his influence as interviewer and journalist that sent Gordon to Khartum, and that achieved many other things noteworthy in their day. That he was a man of genius, of unlimited courage, of abounding faith in moral forces and spiritual destinies, and of an ever-impelling vision of a world made safer and better for all nations, there can be no doubt whatsoever.

ALBERT SHAW.

Bismarck und die Einkreisung Deutschlands. Band II. *Das Französisch-Russische Bündnis.* Von OTTO BECKER. (Berlin: Carl Heymann. 1925. Pp. xx, 316. 15 M.)

THIS second volume of Dr. Becker's series illustrates in their fullest development the characteristics impressed upon the writing of German diplomatic history by the war and its outcome. In the controversy over the question of what faults in German diplomacy contributed to the catastrophe, Becker is ranged with the most orthodox Bismarckian faction, holding that the original sin was committed by the first chancellor's successors in discontinuing his Reinsurance Treaty with Russia. Had this pact been renewed while the Russians were still willing to prolong it, which is the principal thesis of this book, the Franco-Russian alliance would have been at least indefinitely postponed. In the scale of errors

leading up to Germany's encirclement, the rejection of England's advances is given only second place to this failure.

Following the eulogistic *Bismarcks Bündnispolitik* (1923), maintaining that the treaty with Russia was the cornerstone of Bismarck's policy, this volume covers the period of Caprivi's administration. To strengthen its conclusions the author has combed the Austrian archives and the published sources and secondary works in German, though paying scant attention to those in other languages. The result is an account which weaves each incident related and each document cited into a wearisomely bitter indictment of the "New Course". The general impression made by it is that a case set up by such involved argument can not be incontestable.

Without attempting here to follow all the ramifications of this argument, one may venture to remark that Germany's relations with Russia were bound to be affected in some degree by the facts as to her treatment of Russia's interests. And it can hardly be maintained that Russian interests in the Near East had prospered during the treaty's life. Becker does not strengthen his case by showing that the Russian government's willingness to prolong the treaty was in great part due to its renunciation of former aims in Bulgaria as a reaction to its recent setback there, leading it to divert the country's expansive energies toward the Far East. The need of foreign loans to prosecute such enterprises was bound, since Bismarck's closure of the German market, to drive Russia into closer relations with France. Moreover, as later developments showed, Russia's Asiatic venture could not permanently dispense Germany from facing the problem of her real attitude toward the clash of Russia's interests with those of Austria and England over the Balkan Peninsula and the Straits. What, in Becker's opinion, this attitude should have been is indicated in a sentence of super-Bismarckian Machiavellism: "Germany had good reason for encouraging Russia by a treaty into a snatch at the key to her empire; for such a snatch would afford us an excellent opportunity to take up with England the rounding out of our African possessions" (p. 80). The question *qui trompe-t-on ici?* arises with a vengeance! Becker further recurs to his theory of Bismarck's solution of the problem, advanced in his earlier volume, which consists in letting Russia have the Bosphorus, and England the Dardanelles (pp. 266-268). By this ingenious device he triumphantly reconciles the Reinsurance Treaty with the Anglo-Austro-Italian accord of 1887 and absolves Bismarck of the charge that, by the latter accomplishment, he "took away from the Russians with one hand what he had given them with the other" (p. 4). The consideration of how the other powers concerned would react to such a policy seems hardly to enter the author's restricted nationalistic field of view. The success of a "policy of exploitation of existing differences", as he aptly characterizes Bismarck's system (p. 189), however masked by inconsistent treaties, must be somewhat limited by the complaisance of its dupes.

The foregoing remarks are by no means to be taken as a condemnation of the work under review or of the spirit in which it is written. In its field, for some time to come, the controversial method not only is inevitable, but possesses certain advantages. While Becker falls short of providing the "standard work" on German foreign policy, with which he is credited by an admiring reviewer, he has made, by his industry and acuteness of observation, an important contribution toward the eventual sound historical treatment of the subject.

J. V. FULLER.

The Times und das Deutsch-Englische Verhältnis im Jahre 1898.

VON KARL OTTO HERKENBERG. (Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte. 1925. Pp. 143. 5 M.)

THE title of this little monograph indicates precisely the scope of the work. After a brief introduction sketching the status of the foreign relations of Great Britain in the few years immediately preceding 1898, Herr Herkenberg proceeds to outline the attitude of the *Times*, and somewhat incidentally that of the British government, principally by quoting extensively from editorials and occasionally from news-despatches, especially from those transmitted by the *Times* correspondent in Berlin. He arranges the items which are the subject of such quotations in three chronological groups. Those coming within the period from the beginning of 1898 to the middle of the summer include the German establishment at Kiau Chau, the West African question, the Chinese loan, the German naval programme, Wei-hai-wei, and the Spanish-American War. Then follow as *intermezzi* the Cretan issue, Bismarck's death, and the tsar's call for a peace conference. The events taking place from the middle of the summer to the end of the year, which are the subject of comment, include the German activities at Manila and interest in the Philippines, railroad concessions in Shantung, African questions, and the Kaiser's journey to the Near East.

Interspersed with the quotations from the *Times*, quotations which are given in the original in an appendix, are brief comments and a running sketch of affairs to link them together.

In his conclusion Herr Herkenberg sums up his impressions of the attitude and course both of the *Times* and of the British government. He decides that the seizure of Kiau Chau aroused great anxiety in Britain, an anxiety magnified by a fear that British economic interests might suffer even as far as the "rich hinterland of the Yang-tse-Yiang district". A rapprochement with Germany, sincerely desired and worked for by Chamberlain alone among the members of the government, was tentatively sought by Great Britain only as an expedient to avert possible Oriental injury and not as a lasting policy. The *Times*, Herkenberg believes, was unwilling to see anything that tended toward a real understanding, to say nothing of an alliance; whenever the government seemed

to be verging in that direction the tone of its editorials changed from the friendly attitude manifested as long as there was no too close relation. German statesmen were deceived by England's attitude and continued for a long time to think that there had been a sincere effort on the part of Great Britain to reach an understanding.

One of the most instructive portions of this book is the foreword written by Martin Spahn. Herr Spahn makes it clear that the work is one of those calculated to prove that Germany was not only not directly responsible for the war in 1914, but that no indirect war guilt can attach to her. Moreover, he brings out the fact that one may form a pretty shrewd guess as to what was going on in European chancelleries by a study of newspapers, coupled with a perusal of the utterances of public men in places of authority. He points out that the correspondence published in *Die Grosse Politik* confirms the contentions of Herkenberg, whose manuscript was prepared before the appearance of volumes XIII.-XVII., covering 1898 and the period immediately before and after that year. Spahn also makes some interesting comments on German post-war historians and writers such as Haller, Wolff, Eckardstein, Fischer, Marcks, Salomon, and Franke. Most of them, he thinks, have failed to grasp many of the essential factors of the situation.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE.

Sarajevo: a Study in the Origins of the Great War. By R. W. SETON-WATSON. (London: Hutchinson and Company. 1926. Pp. 303. 18 s.)

The Serajevo Crime. By M. EDITH DURHAM. (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1925. Pp. 208. 7 s. 6 d.)

THESE two volumes, from very different points of view, and with very different technic, supplement each other nicely, giving opposing arguments somewhere between which lies the golden truth.

Mr. Seton-Watson, long a champion of the Serbs, follows the plan, familiar during the war, of concentrating his attention on the perfidies of Berchtold and the complicity of Germany. "By deliberate action, often thought out to the smallest details, Vienna and Berlin had by 23 July created a diplomatic situation from which nothing short of a miracle could have saved Europe, and the main responsibility for the outbreak of war must therefore rest upon their shoulders" (p. 289). Of France or Russia he says very little, as they do not fall within the scope of the subject as he has chosen to treat it. Miss Durham, on the other hand, veteran and intrepid traveller in the Balkans, and a champion of the Albanians, concentrates her attention upon the Serbian provocations of Austria, the dark conspiracies of the Serbian "Black Hand" plotters, and the vengeance wreaked on them by M. Pashitch in the famous Salonika Trial of 1917. "Austria was right when stating that the threads of the crime reached to Belgrade" (p. 200).

Mr. Seton-Watson writes as a scholar and in delightful form; yet every statement is buttressed with references to documents or private conversations with Yugoslav friends. The most valuable part of his book is that in which he traces the development of the Yugoslav revolutionary movement. His contention is that it developed mainly on Hapsburg soil in large degree because of the drastic methods of Austro-Hungarian misrule, and that Serbia was therefore not largely responsible for the agitation which inspired the series of murders which culminated at Sarajevo. His contention is based on a thorough acquaintance with Yugoslav literature and on what he was told during a recent trip to Bosnia by persons who were more or less acquainted with the agitation and the crime. But is it not dangerous to give full credence to what these men say ten years after the events? Are they not likely greatly to exaggerate their own part and that of Bosnia in a movement which ultimately resulted in the creation of the Yugoslav kingdom? Most of Mr. Seton-Watson's charges against Berchtold's "perfidy" and "dishonesty" are well founded, though occasionally his zeal overshoots the mark. He is misled in thinking (pp. 207, 221, 227) that the Austrian ambassadors abroad received a copy of the Austrian Ultimatum on July 20, by supposing it was telegraphed; it was sent by courier; his picture of Count Szápáry, "with this secret explosive in his breast", talking to President Poincaré at St. Petersburg can hardly stand. To note the points in which I can not agree with his conclusions condemning Germany and exculpating Serbia would exceed the limits of this review.

Miss Durham eschews foot-notes and writes with righteous indignation. She has conveniently summarized all of the evidence (and some of the gossip) tending to show that M. Pashitch and the Serbian government were aware of a plot to murder the archduke, and did nothing effective, either to prevent the murderers from crossing over from Belgrade to Bosnia to commit the crime, or to warn Austria of the danger, or, after the deed, to bring to justice the Serbian officers who had aided and abetted the murderers. Here she is on solid ground and is supported by the extraordinary revelations of M. Ljuba Jovanovitch, which Mr. Seton-Watson can not bring himself to accept unreservedly. Her most valuable contribution is her very full account of the Salonika Trial of 1917. This resulted in what appears to be the judicial murder, by M. Pashitch's Radical party, of the Black Hand leader, Dragutin Dimitrijevitich and a couple of fellow victims. Among the alleged charges against him was an attempt to murder the prince regent of Serbia. But it is believed that one of M. Pashitch's real reasons for wishing to seal his tongue for eternity was the fact that he, though an officer of the Serbian general staff in 1914, had participated in the plot to murder the Austrian archduke. Miss Durham has printed long extracts from the *procès-verbal* of this trial, difficult enough at best to elucidate, and hitherto made almost inaccessible because M. Pashitch is said to have had the original printed record

confiscated and so far as possible destroyed. Unfortunately this Salonika Trial has become a kind of Serbian Dreyfus Affair, in which personal reputations, partizan politics, and the relations of civilian and military authority are so involved and obscured by lying and counter-lying, that it is difficult to judge how far to follow Miss Durham's *J'Accuse*. Mr. Seton-Watson, while exposing in the *Slavonic Review* her minor inaccuracies, does not controvert her account of the Salonika Trial, though it is the newest and most important part of her book; nor in his present volume does he do so, preferring to leave this thorny topic to a larger work on the origins of the Yugoslav state.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

La Marine Française dans la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918. Par A. THOMAZI. Volume I. *La Guerre Navale dans la Zone des Armées du Nord*. Volume II. *La Guerre Navale dans l'Adriatique*. (Paris: Payot. 1925. Pp. 263, 247. 27 fr.)

THESE volumes, of most painstaking and sound construction, are by one of those rare appearances, a professional sailor with a signal talent for historical investigation and expression. Captain Thomazi, who acted as chief of staff to Vice-Admiral Ronarc'h, commander-in-chief of the French naval forces in the north, resigned from the service at the close of the World War in order to devote himself to writing the annals of the French navy in that war. In his sympathetic preface to the book the vice-admiral, on the whole entirely complimentary, ventures to make one criticism which is characteristic of the activities which Captain Thomazi had to record. Vice-Admiral Ronarc'h says:

The subject, moreover, is no easy one to handle, for the inevitable reason which renders seamen so little loquacious, namely, the necessity of using technicalities, though not too many. Commander Thomazi has certainly not erred in this direction; in fact I am tempted to say that he has not made enough use of technicalities, which opinion I appeal to his old friendship to pardon. I believe that it would have been wise to explain to his readers exactly in what consisted the difficulty of fighting the German submarines, because, apart from a few combats with destroyers and torpedo-boats, one may say that this fight was the sole form of naval warfare in the localities covered by the author.

It is possible that this stricture is fair, so far as actual descriptions of such technical matters as mine-barrages are concerned. On the other hand technic formed so very important a subject in the World War that most chroniclers are content to leave such mechanical details to experts and special reports. Captain Thomazi, for example, includes in his book a list of works and documents consulted, which readers are at liberty to refer to. It is evident that he is afraid of having been rather too meticulous, for he expresses a doubt whether his readers will not consider his book a jumble of varieties, and, apart from the bottling-up of

Zeebrugge and Ostend, a record of "great projects and small actions". But, since the heavy fighting forces of the French navy were stationed in the Mediterranean, it was inevitable that the lighter forces were limited largely to opposing the enemy's submarine and destroyer attacks, to safeguarding the movements of troops, and to the capture of enemy ships.

In the long run a rather drab, uneventful, and yet killingly wearing business it was for the most part, yet well done, and animated by a cordial spirit of co-operation with the British fleet, especially the "Dover Patrol" under Admiral Bacon. Captain Thomazi enumerates with justifiable pride its results. Explaining that major operations were denied to the French forces in the northern zones, he says:

But what was the chief problem of the (French) navy in the neighborhood of the English Channel? Before all else to guarantee the safe passage across the Channel of the British troops who were to fight on French soil, as well as their supplies and the provisions destined for the Allied armies and the French people. Well, more than six million men were taken across without the loss of a single one at sea; more than a million sick and wounded were transported back to England; twenty-five thousand transports left Folkestone or Dover for Boulogne or Calais, and only twelve failed to arrive. Moreover one hundred and fifty thousand merchant vessels passed the Downs, a hundred thousand cruised the French coast between Antifer and Dunkirk, and the number of those sunk by submarines, by mines, or by accident was less than sixty. If the phrase "command of the sea" has any meaning, it could not better be applied than to this region, the most important of all in the intensity of its traffic, the centre of which was less than fifty miles from the German bases.

As is known, the patrol of the French and British was very efficient. The enemy's submarines ventured many attacks, but very few succeeded. The work of mine-sweeping, patrolling the sea, and escorting troop-ships left little opportunity or time for offensive action, but the plan of attack on the Belgian ports was in process of making, though it could not be carried out until 1918. The important if subsidiary part taken by the French forces in this enterprise has been almost entirely overlooked. Captain Thomazi gives the story in detail, without claiming to share full honors with the British.

This volume will probably remain the classic record of the activities described by the author, and invaluable to the naval historian.

In his second volume Captain Thomazi shows a clearness of vision, as well as a lack of national and professional bias, characteristic of the true historian, and this truth-seeking poise of mind has guided him to the real mission of an eye-witness chronicler, namely, the painstaking and meticulously documented record of the events as they happened, with great reticence in the apportionment of praise and blame. Like the author's first volume describing operations in the northern zones, the present one is invaluable.

In the agreement signed in February of 1913 between the British Admiralty and the French naval General Staff, the former pointed out that, while there would be, in the event of war with Germany, co-operation on its part in the Mediterranean, yet the northern waters would be the decisive theatre of naval operations, and therefore the Admiralty could not promise any help inconsistent with the concentration of all necessary forces in those waters; but that the policy of the Admiralty would be to maintain in the Mediterranean a force reasonably powerful enough to defeat the Austrian fleet in case it issued from the Adriatic. This was a promise of a somewhat academic nature, and in fact the British, both politically and militarily, up to the actual breaking out of hostilities, retained for themselves, in their conversations with their possible allies, complete liberty of action. But our author points out that the British were fully conscious of the moral responsibility incurred in regard to France, whose coasts might, without the co-operation of the British fleet, fall into the hands of Germany; and he ascribes to this moral conviction the notification by Mr. Asquith's government to Germany, issued more than twenty-four hours before the ultimatum relative to Belgium, that no attack upon the French littoral nor French commerce would be permitted. "Our negotiators", says Captain Thomazi (p. 14), "had reason to trust in the good faith of our future allies", a statement which contrasts agreeably with the classic phrase, "perfidie Albion!". The event proved that the rôles of the two fleets were played in accordance with the agreement of 1913: "The field of operations of the two fleets shall, generally speaking, be distinct, the French fleet operating in the western part, and the British fleet in the eastern part of the Mediterranean." In case it should be necessary to reduce the British fleet to such an extent that it would not be a match for the Austrian, combined action was provided for. "The remaining warships will be united with the French fleet in time of war and will be under the orders of the French commander-in-chief, it being understood however that they may be recalled to England at any moment if circumstances demand."

One of the most important functions of a fleet is to keep open the lines of communication, and this was particularly essential for France in the early days of the war, for the transport of her troops stationed in northern Africa. When this was successfully accomplished, and the romantic episode of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* had passed into history, it was necessary to contain the Austrian fleet in the Adriatic, so that it could not pass the Dardanelles, with the connivance of Turkey, and attack the naval forces of Russia in the Black Sea, Austria-Hungary having declared war on Russia. For this purpose, and to destroy the Austrian fleet if possible, the French made ten raids into the Adriatic from various bases, the destroyers and particularly the submarines earning laurels by their intrepid attacks upon such well-defended ports as Cattaro and Pola. The torpedoing of the dreadnaught *Jean Bart* finally showed the danger of exposing capital

vessels in minor operations, without compensating advantages, and the blockade of the Adriatic continued *à distance* thereafter.

The appearance in Mediterranean waters of German submarines and the entrance of Italy into the war both changed the course of events, the former annoyingly, the latter vitally. A new agreement between Great Britain, France, and Italy was drawn up, placing the supreme command of the Allied naval forces, in case Italy declared war, in the hands of the Italian admiral the Duke dei Abruzzi. This was in April, 1915, though Italy did not declare war until May 23 of that year. The result of the combined action of the French and Italian fleets was soon the entire mastery of the Adriatic, though no important operations were recorded. Even the carefully planned bombardment of Durazzo accomplished little, so far as rendering it unfit as a base for the enemy was concerned.

Captain Thomazi, while a master of detail and presumably of accuracy, possesses also a pleasing style, which may be recognized whenever the subject permits, as in his description of the submarine actions, and particularly of the epic hide-and-seek game between the Allied fleets and the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, in which the two German vessels, proceeding east on August 4, passed within 8000 yards (a killing range!) of the British *Indomitable* and *Indefatigable* in a perfectly calm sea, the latter going west with a view to preventing the Germans from joining their home fleet in the event of war. In grim silence and without saluting the two deadly enemies crossed each other, the British nonplussed, the Germans to hurry on through the Middle Sea to a triumphant entrance into the Dardanelles. Only a slight delay in the declaration of war by Great Britain prevented the German cruisers from being blown out of the water and history from being changed, perhaps vitally.

Both this volume and the former, describing the French operations in the north, are inadequately provided with maps and plans.

EDWARD BRECK.

Survey of International Affairs, 1924. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, Director of Studies in the British Institute of International Affairs and Professor of International History in the University of London. (London: Humphrey Milford. 1926. Pp. xiv, 528. 25 s.)

Is it possible to write contemporary history? Mr. Toynbee in this, his second volume in the *Survey of International Affairs* series, has, as the Right Honorable H. A. L. Fisher says in the preface, "supplied an affirmative answer". This *Survey* combines in a peculiarly happy manner a factual summary of international events with an objective interpretation which in almost every instance skillfully avoids even a suggestion of partizanship.

This volume is not limited rigidly to the calendar year 1924, nor does it attempt to cover all of even the major international developments of that

year. Instead, the author has wisely selected for the first half of the volume, part I., three large general topics under the heading World Affairs. These are: Security and Disarmament, the Movement of Population, and the Third (Communist) International and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The history of each of these is treated thoroughly not for a single year but in the case of the first for six years, the second for five years, and the third for two years. This method of treatment was adopted because in the initial volume, *Survey of International Affairs, 1920-1923*, there was no room for adequate discussion of these fields. But what was primarily a device dictated by consideration of convenience has resulted in much more satisfactory accounts of these significant developments than would otherwise have been possible.

The reviewer, who has had occasion to make a special study of the events and propaganda and counter-propaganda which led up to the so-called Japanese Exclusion Act in 1924, was delightfully surprised that Mr. Toynbee has been able not merely to state the facts clearly and succinctly but somehow to catch the spirit of the movement as a whole and to understand much better than any save two or three Americans the underlying forces which resulted in action so offensive to Japan.

The second part of the volume is divided into two general sections: (1) Western Europe: the Allies and Germany; (2) Central, Eastern, and Northern Europe. The first of these is, as in the case of the three topics previously discussed, a general treatment of the relations between Germany and her former enemies for the period from the occupation of the Ruhr, January 11, 1923, until the end of 1924. In it, Mr. Toynbee with scarcely a vestige of British *Tendenz* traces those developments which so happily resulted in the Dawes plan and the establishment of a basis for genuine rapprochement between France and Germany.

The second section is more in the typical style of an annual survey. The chief factors in the foreign affairs of Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Little Entente, Poland, the Baltic states, and the Scandinavian states are briefly summarized.

Part III., devoted to Tropical Africa, deals with (1) the Rectification of Frontier in Jubaland between the British Kenya Colony and Italian Somaliland (1919-1925) and (2) the Defining of the Boundary between French Equatorial Africa and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1919-1924). The appendixes contain the texts of the more important documents for the year.

Many significant developments are excluded from the volume on the ground that they are not strictly international. For example, in his treatment of the movement of populations Mr. Toynbee excludes as "an internal affair of the British commonwealth" the ticklish problems created by the emigration of British subjects of Indian origin to Kenya Colony and the Union of South Africa.

Limitations of space have excluded from this volume and reserved for the next (the *Survey for 1925*) "the record of the numerous and important technical activities of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization, and likewise the record of international relations on the American Continent (apart from the Immigration Question)". The next volume will also deal with the "history of the Islamic World from the points where the sixth volume of the *History of the Peace Conference of Paris* leaves off, and the history of the Far East and the Pacific from the close of the Washington Conference, which was the terminal point of the *Survey for 1920-1923* in this field".

Every student of international affairs owes to Mr. Toynbee and to the British Institute of International Affairs a debt of gratitude for their unique *Survey of International Affairs*.

JAMES G. McDONALD.

International Politics. Volume II. *Europe and the East*. By NORMAN DWIGHT HARRIS, Professor of Diplomacy and International Law, Northwestern University. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 677. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR HARRIS describes his book as a "study of the relations of Western powers with Eastern states and of Asiatic politics" from 1850 to date. In another place he describes his intention to be the presenting of a "study of European expansion and intervention in Asia and the Pacific Ocean in one concise and readable volume". The book consists of an introductory chapter and sections on the Near East, Middle East, and Far East, respectively. The Near East has three chapters comprising slightly more than 100 pages. India receives three chapters with a total of 112 pages. To China, Japan, and Korea are devoted 96, 34, and 39 pages, respectively. A concluding chapter on the New Pacific has 54 pages. Thus in a little over 600 pages the author attempts to comprise the outlines of the history of about two-thirds of the population of the world for eighty years.

The three sections above mentioned can be read separately, there being little or no interrelation. This fact is significant, for it seems to reveal that the author has canvassed a field of study in which he has failed to find any real unity. Europe is not a unity; Asia is not a unity; and when one resolves both Europe and Asia into their actual unities and seeks to describe the relations of each to all the others, the extent of the permutations and combinations is very great—too great to be comprised in one cover or appreciated by the mind of any historical student who has yet attempted it. The task is further complicated by the attempt to leap the barrier of the most recent chronological limits to which historical writing may safely go and attempts a narrative of events so recent as to be still almost current. The combination is one likely to mislead the uncritical reader, for the earlier part of each section is based on reasonably authori-

tative sources, while the latter part trails off into a field where relatively few of the sources are surely dependable.

Notwithstanding the spread of the subject the author is inclined to sweeping generalizations which weaken confidence that he has mastered his facts. There is a fine optimistic strain in the declaration that the "brotherhood of nations is becoming a reality", but when one reads that the mandate system has "assured small communities with limited resources and incompetent government of the protection and assistance necessary to enable them to develop into self-supporting autonomous states" and then turns to the latest news from Damascus, one wonders. Again, the author links India, Korea, and the Philippines, and declares that "an honest effort will be made to prepare the people to take over the administration of their own affairs as soon as conditions permit".

The book is based on blue books and other secondary sources. The monographic literature, which in the past ten years has become almost voluminous and which at many points has changed the traditional interpretation of events of a half-century ago, is almost entirely ignored. The only original source which the reviewer has noted is the Rockhill papers, which appear fully to support the suspicion long held that the Hay doctrine of 1899 was in fact the Rockhill doctrine.

Europe and the East is based on prodigious reading, some research, and not much reflection. Minor errors, such as calling the Boxer protocol the "Treaty of 1901", are numerous.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer. Von GEORG FRIEDERICI. Erster Band. (Stuttgart: Perthes. 1925. Pp. xiii, 579. 12 M.)

For thirty years, yet with interruptions, the author informs us he has busied himself in the preparation for the issue of this volume. While affirming that a certain advantage may have arisen from this long period of special investigation, he likewise admits what may seem to be a probable disadvantage, leading him at times to appear to be inconsistent in his interpretations. He has attempted however to keep in close touch with the best results of the many investigators.

Friederici himself has long been known as one of the most careful of German students whose researches have carried them far into the field, wherein interesting problems richly abound, touching all phases of early geographical discovery and exploration, touching the early occupations and the beginnings of European settlements in newly found lands, particularly in the New World.

His general theme is the character of discovery and settlement in America by the Europeans, and he deals with problems relating to the

geographical features of the continents and their adjoining islands, relating likewise to the characteristics of the native occupants. He next turns to a consideration of what he calls the character of the discoveries made by the Spaniards, then to a consideration of their first acquaintance with the American coast regions, and to their succeeding conquests and their entrance into the interior regions. A concluding chapter he titles "Die Technik der Konquista", which deals with the methods they employed.

An equally detailed but similar consideration of the early French and English occupation of their respective parts of the New World will doubtless follow later. Such a volume could not fail to be received by students of the period with an interest quite equal to that which this volume is certain to evoke.

The mass of information which the author has been able to crowd into his first and second chapters particularly, his employment of a style of presentation at all times instructive and entertaining, is certain to insure his work a place of great importance in the literature of the period. Here indeed, as in succeeding chapters, he has supported his presentation with a wealth of citation from early and recent writers. There is scarcely a phase of the geography of the New World which has been overlooked in the plan followed for a description of its many significant features, and he gives due consideration to the influence exerted by the same on those peoples who came to explore and to occupy.

He has a kindly word for the natives touching their manners and customs, their personal traits, their political, industrial, and military activities, and by way of comparison he is not over-complimentary in references to the Spanish conquerors. The chapter wherein the author gives brief consideration to the beginnings of western European geographical expansion, in particular to Spain's awakened interest therein, serves well the introductory purpose intended. It appears to the reviewer that rather too much support is given to the idea that there prevailed the thought of seeking a water route to the Indies of the East by way of the West which culminated in the Columbus enterprise. Why longer hold to this theory? We have a clear statement, prior to 1492, of his purpose. His general estimate however of Columbus the man, at the same time admitting the many uncertainties concerning his life, is excellent.

The reviewer does not know where to point to a volume more satisfactory in its treatment of a subject so fraught with almost infinite details than is this new volume in the Oncken series, long and favorably known among great historical series.

E. L. STEVENSON.

Guide to British West Indian Archive Materials, in London and in the Islands, for the History of the United States. By HERBERT C. BELL, DAVID W. PARKER, and others. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1926. Pp. ix, 435. \$3.00.)

THE purpose of this guide is to list and briefly indicate the content of official archive materials of the British West Indies for the history of all English colonies in America and the colonial system to 1775, and of the relations of the British West Indies to the United States to 1815. While all relevant material is listed, the indications of content of original correspondence and entry-books become detailed only with the year 1711, since the *Calendars of State Papers Colonial* give detailed descriptions of such papers to 1712.

The work is divided into two main divisions: (1) the guide to the Colonial Office Papers in the Public Record Office for each island arranged alphabetically, for which Mr. Bell is mainly responsible; (2) a guide to the archives in each of the islands, also in alphabetical order, mostly compiled by Mr. Parker.

The Colonial Office Papers were already inventoried in Professor Andrews's *Guide to the Public Record Office*, but the present volume describes those relating to the West Indies and their relations with the northern colonies and the United States in much more detail. The work is intended to be used in connection with Andrews's *Guide*, to which it continually refers. The papers relating to each island are listed under eight classes: (1) original correspondence with the Board of Trade; (2) original correspondence with the Secretary of State; (3) entry-books of despatches from the Board of Trade; (4) entry-books of despatches from the Secretary of State; (5) acts; (6) sessional papers, being transcripts of minutes and journals of colonial councils and assemblies; (7) shipping returns, or naval office lists; and (8) miscellaneous papers. The first four are described for the period 1711 to 1775 at considerable length, affording guidance to West Indian internal history as well as to wider relations; for the years 1775-1815 the description is briefer, referring primarily to trade relations with the United States. The last four classes are listed, generally without comment, from their beginning to the end of 1783 with occasional extensions. Public Record Office papers which often relate to the West Indies but are not listed in this guide are the "Plantations General", "Board of Trade, Commercial", and the "Board of Trade, Journal"; these have, however, been adequately treated in Andrews's *Guide*. Record Office material has been far better preserved and, in general, is more nearly complete than the island archives. Besides official material, there is a brief description of the West India Committee's papers. Brevity forbids mention of the multiplicity of matters treated; it is obvious that the sources indicated are indispensable to investigations in West Indian constitutional, industrial, social, intercolonial, and international history. A good index affords aid in correlating data.

The inventory and description of archives located in the islands proved an arduous and at times impossible task owing to sad neglect, dirt, decay, disorder, and devastations by fire, hurricanes, rodents, and insects. In many respects Record Office transcripts are more nearly complete and almost always better preserved, which relieves the tragedy of destruction in the islands. Certain records, however, are unique, such as inventories of estates in Antigua and Jamaica; material relating to Loyalists in the Bahamas; wills, marriage and slave records; plats of grants; vice-admiralty records; and some correspondence with colonial agents. As much of the material in this division of the *Guide* is from the period after the Revolution, descriptions relate primarily to trade relations with the United States. Jamaican archives are by far the best preserved, most nearly complete and valuable. They include marriage and vital statistics; conveyances; probate records; records of slaves and manumissions; laws; civil, vice-admiralty, and prize court records; assembly journals; council minutes; parochial, local, and miscellaneous records; inventories, crop accounts, and a few log-books. Judicial records are particularly rich but disorganized and in rather bad condition. The procedure for securing access to documents or obtaining transcripts is given for each island.

The only errors observed are: Palson for Paxson (pp. 39, 68); suspending for suspending (p. 52); 1752/3 for 1732/3 (p. 57); instructions for instructions (p. 166); and for Peisby (p. 247) the reviewer's reading of the manuscript was Peisly. A work of this character and difficulty is necessarily the result of several investigations; besides those of Mr. Bell and Mr. Parker, special mention should be made of the labors of Mr. Pérez in Jamaica and of Miss Penson and Miss Moodie in London. To such labors investigators will be grateful for a book that should conserve time, expense, and energy. Its examination alone is instructive on the functioning of the old empire and problems of economic readjustment occasioned by the secession of the United States.

FRANK W. PITMAN.

The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents. By JAMES A. WILLIAMSON. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 234. 12 s. 6 d.)

THIS volume, in some respects a sequel to the author's *English Colonies in Guiana* (Oxford, 1923), deals with the genesis and development to 1660 of British settlements in the Lesser Antilles "primarily from the standpoint of politics and institutions, as a study in the working of proprietary government in relation both to the colonist and to the mother country". It is closely related to C. S. S. Higham's *Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 1921), and his articles on the Leeward Islands Assembly (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLI. 190, 366). Based on a comparison of all available sources, chiefly manuscript, and particularly chancery proceedings, Mr. Williamson has written a highly critical

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXXII.—9.

monograph that checks and partially supplants the narratives of Edwards and Schomburgk.

The settlement of the Caribbee Islands witnessed a change in motives from the quest for gold, a Pacific passage, and barter with native races, to zeal for agriculture and trade in staples. It was Thomas Warner, of Guiana experience, who made the first settlement, at St. Christopher, in 1623-1624. That the company of the *Olive Branch* touched Barbados and claimed it for England as early as 1605 is shown to be mythical. The attempts to colonize St. Lucia in 1605 and Grenada in 1609 were authentic but unsuccessful. The first authentic settlement was that of Sir Thomas Warner at St. Christopher in 1623-1624. Barbados was first settled by William Courteen in 1624 or 1625. Both Warner and Courteen then sought noble patronage to give their settlements legal status. The Earl of Carlisle, acting for Warner, secured proprietary patent to all the Caribbee Islands including Barbados. The Earl of Pembroke, acting for Courteen and other merchants, secured patent to certain islands also including Barbados. Barbados thus became the subject of bitter controversy between the Carlisle and Pembroke or Courteen factions. Much of the volume is a critical examination of the intricate phases of this long and sometimes militant quarrel. Charles I., declaring that the trouble arose from a confusion of Barbuda and Barbados, decided (1629) in favor of Carlisle's claim to Barbados, notwithstanding Courteen's priority of settlement. Carlisle then proceeded, through lieutenants and syndicates, to colonize Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat; St. Christopher was divided with the French. Tobacco and trade promoted rapid settlement.

Proprietary government, the author concludes, was on the whole efficient and shielded the islands from some of the impractical experiments of the northern colonies. But it was tyrannous and grasping. Mr. Williamson relates the navigation regulations, which were taking form, to circumstances generally overlooked, *e.g.*, pressure of English customs-concessionaries accounts for the "stapling" of trade in English posts, the "enumerating" of tobacco, and the suppressing of its culture in England; or again, Royalist rebellions in Barbados and elsewhere in 1649 partially account for the Navigation Act of 1650, the forerunner of the more famous act of 1651, which perpetuated a wartime exclusion of shipping from Holland—a Royalist base. The Civil War period was marked by endless contention between the second earl's trustees and his creditors. Between them the islands were mercilessly bled, and proprietary government fell into disrepute and decay. Colonial assemblies arose, and London associations of planters supported by Parliamentarians agitated annulment of proprietary patents and the institution of crown colonies. This goal the Commonwealth realized at the end of the bloodless Royalist rebellion in 1652, when it replaced the proprietary régime with governors, councils, and assemblies at Barbados, Antigua, St. Christopher, Montserrat, and Nevis. Even at this period the colonists repeatedly opposed the

principle of complete parliamentary control, an unwitting forecast of the constitutional issue of the late eighteenth century (pp. 174-175).

The economic and social changes attending the shift from tobacco to the more lucrative sugar industry are briefly set forth to explain the rise of a "planting interest" that knew its business in politics as well as trade, and eventually had the energy to buy its freedom from rival and hopelessly indebted proprietors. Various conveyances made while proprietary rights were in abeyance might have been voided by a revival of proprietary government. Thus it happened that, when Charles II. reaffirmed the validity of Carlisle's patent, the planters launched a victorious campaign for its annulment. Barbados and the Leeward Islands became royal colonies June 13, 1663, by an Order in Council in accordance with which each colonial assembly granted the crown a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. export duty, from which the crown undertook the compensation of various proprietary interests.

FRANK W. PITMAN.

A History of Economic Progress in the United States. By WALTER W. JENNINGS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economic History in the University of Kentucky. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1926. Pp. xvi, 819. \$4.50.)

THIS is by far the most comprehensive and voluminous of the numerous economic histories of the United States that have appeared since Professor Bogart's initial venture some twenty years ago. Very little in the way of interpretation has been added to that pioneer work, but new sources of material have been discovered and each succeeding writer piles the heap of facts a trifle higher. That is conspicuously true in the present instance, and the publisher's announcement, that this volume of over eight hundred pages "may almost be styled monumental", is no exaggeration. One should add that the solidity of the text is not broken by illustrations, tables, and diagrams, such as were used by earlier writers to make a still untried intellectual diet more palatable for the not-always inquiring student mind. Consequently the mass of undiluted information presented is almost formidable, and the book barely escapes transcending the limits of a class-room manual—which we assume it was intended to be—and becoming a work of reference.

The author has succumbed to the danger that confronts all zealous and industrious collectors of data, the danger of recording his facts in an agglutinative rather than a synthetic order. The syllabus to which he worked was well considered and excellently arranged, and has been so consistently followed that there are few if any repetitions; but the structure of the book is mechanical instead of organic. As a result the reader must do much of his own correlating and trace for himself the interplay of forces between agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, commerce,

finance, and other forms of economic life that makes society a living thing and not a wax-work.

It would be ungenerous, however, to lay too much stress upon this point in judging a book that was evidently written to perform a purely informational function. We shall probably have to wait at least one more generation for our economic Keyserlings and Spenglers. Not until one of these arrives will any of the manuals between Bogart and Jennings be out of date, and pending his coming an appraisal of their respective merits must be largely quantitative. By that measure this latest product is undoubtedly the best.

Some passages, illustrated by well-chosen quotations from contemporary writers, give a vivid and interesting picture of the more romantic phases of our economic development, but in general a certain roughness of style, which abounds in stereotyped phrases and disconcerting ellipses, detracts from the literary effectiveness of the book. The author views our national progress with exuberant optimism, although he occasionally denounces evils with the uncritical fervor of a social evangelist. A confirmed pessimist would probably demur to the statement (p. 740) that the United States is a country where "people by the millions are actually suffering, dying from the lack of the necessities of life". Nevertheless the author's intention is excellent and his exaggeration is obviously rhetorical. This tendency to abandon the dispassionate style of the historian for the platform manner manifests itself in other places, and results in a looseness of statement that requires some caution of the reader. For example, when the author declares (p. 593) that "the skill of the American worker is probably greater than that of any other worker in the world" he presumably means output. He claims too much for the inventive genius of our nation when he says (p. 423) that the automobile "was not made a possibility until George B. Sheldon, of Rochester, New York, patented his successful internal combustion engine in 1895". It would be possible to cull from the text a sheaf of similar doubtful or erroneous statements, which suggest the disposition to hasty expression which the author's manner of writing confirms.

Nevertheless the book is an excellent one—in the becoming. It needs some revision, more rewriting, and still more ripening, but it has in it the making of an exceptionally useful, and indeed important, work. As it stands it is a valuable source of reference—the more so because the author so frequently cites his authorities in the body of the text, which they encumber somewhat but where they can not be overlooked. We hope that Professor Jennings will resharpen his quill and keep at it.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

The American Wool Manufacture. By ARTHUR HARRISON COLE, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics, Harvard University. Two volumes. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xix, 392; iii, 328. \$7.50.)

A MONOGRAPH in two volumes of the history of a single American industry is a novelty. The example set by Professor Cole's book is not likely to be soon or often followed by other writers, but we may well wish it might be if that would give us not only the quantity but also the quality of product which he supplies.

The first volume covers the American wool manufacture from its beginnings in the colonial period, through the era of the small factory, extending to 1830, and the period of the developed factory, 1830 to 1870. The second volumes studies the changes in the industry since the Civil War and provides in its appendixes not only an extensive bibliography (pp. 301-314), but also a description of the processes of manufacture which might well be read as an introduction to the book by those who are not familiar with the subject.

The author's method may be illustrated by an enumeration of the topics which he treats in the relatively brief section, some sixty pages, devoted to the colonial period: the wool supply, technical equipment, industrial organization, extent and quality of colonial production, trade in wool manufactures, colonial encouragement, British interference. This list of topics suggests that feature of the author's treatment which appears in all parts of the book and which is so important in any essay of the kind as to deserve especial recognition. He studies the wool manufacture as a living thing, with organs and functions in vital relations; he is not content to supply the annals of bare fact, but is looking always for the logical relations between the facts which make them appear consistent and intelligible. Cloth the colonists must have, and did make for themselves mainly in the household with the simple implements and processes inherited from their English ancestors. With this technic, with a local supply of wool of poor quality, with a very restricted local market for the product, development beyond the household stage with a limited handicraft manufacture was impossible, and the colonists depended on the mother country for the finer fabrics and for the cheaper grades used in the plantation colonies. The author is unquestionably right in minimizing the importance of English restriction of the colonial woolen industry.

In 1760 there was not as yet in the colonies a wool-working factory, in the sense in which the author uses that term (I. 219, note), "a complete or nearly complete mechanical equipment for turning raw wool into finished cloth, and an organization in which the proprietor is occupied with management alone, and the workers with supervision of actual manufacturing operations". In the second part of the book the author traces the changes after 1760 culminating in the establishment of the Hartford enterprise of 1788, which grew into a complete factory and, though it

afterwards failed, was the first in a series which increased rapidly in number after 1807.

In this period the author has occasion to describe in detail the development of power-driven machinery, and emphasizes the particular importance of the Goulding card, patented 1826. In the praise which he accords the American wool manufacture for its independence in technical improvement (*cf.* preface, p. ix) he appears to the reviewer to belittle the progress made in other lines, even in the cotton manufacture, but particularly in metal-working and wood-working. With the rise of factory production the author begins the detailed study of the organization of the market, and of the labor and capital which has each its separate history from now on. He gives separate chapters to the decline of household production and to an analysis of the factory as it was in 1830: the character of the representative establishment, the volume and geographical distribution of factory production. The concluding part of the first volume continues these topics for the period 1830-1870, and faces that feature of the developed industry which has made it the despair of the ordinary student, namely the extraordinary diversity of its products. It is necessary to distinguish not merely woollens and worsteds, but also different kinds of each, and to analyze the effect on the fortunes of American industry of the rise of the new styles. In the period since 1870, covered in the second volume, the wool industry, like other American manufactures, was transformed by the new agencies of transportation and communication. The author provides an interesting chapter on the tariff, which he finds of significance *merely as a passive factor, and studies such characteristic features of the developed organization as are indicated by chapter-headings of differentiation, large scale operation, and large scale management.* None but an economist could treat these topics. The "spread" between them and the industry in its early stages is enormous; and the author has accomplished a difficult task in meeting so well the demands made on him by the problem of the wool manufacture in the many phases of its development. He has shown the patience and the critical discrimination of the historian in gleaning his material from many scattered sources, including official documents, a considerable number of newspapers, and some business records in manuscript. It is not a criticism but a characterization of his work to say that on the whole he writes as the economist rather than the historian. He places himself within the industry, and looks out from it, looking for things which are of particular interest to the economist. Things social and political are on his horizon; he is not in the middle of them. Further contributions to the subject which he has so well treated will now best come from the historian, who looks at the wool manufacture from without, and who on some topics, particularly that of labor, must describe what he sees before we can be sure that all sides of the subject are before us.

CLIVE DAY.

Les Provinces-Unies et la Guerre d'Amérique, 1775-1784. Par FRANCIS P. RENAUT. Volumes I. and V. (Paris: Graouli. 1924, 1925. Pp. 430, 260. 40 fr., 32 fr.)

THESE volumes are the first two in a series of six devoted to the Dutch participation in the war of the American Revolution. Volume I. is entitled *De la Neutralité à la Belligérance, 1775-1780*, and Volume V., *La Propagande Insurgente: C. W. F. Dumas, 1775-1780*. Both of them make pleasant reading; particularly chapters I., II., IV., VI., XI., and XVI. of volume I.; and chapters VII., IX., and XIII. of volume V. They are based on extensive and intelligent researches conducted in the Hague, London, and Paris. Renaut is in fact the first writer to make adequate use of the primary sources. F. Edler relied on copies found in American libraries, while F. W. Van Wijk made too much of the pamphlets published from 1775 to 1780.

Even the casual reader, however, will note that Renaut has gone to a new extreme, that of neglecting secondary works published since 1875 in Holland and America. The result has been a number of errors which are likely to puzzle the reader until he reaches the bibliography at the end of each volume. Renaut says, for example, that he based his description of the Dutch constitution on despatches by La Vauguyon and Yorke. A more reliable source would have been Blok's standard work on the history of the Netherlands, or even Edmundson's recently published text-book. Renaut was mistaken in asserting that in the eighteenth century the power of the stadholder was derived from articles IX. and XVI. of the Union of Utrecht (I. 43). In the year 1579 no provision was made for an official who would some day be stadholder of all the seven provinces. Renaut also makes a mistake in the foot-note on page 42, where the order of precedence among the seven provinces is quite wrong. Holland did not fight against Spain for fifty years (p. 41), nor were the majority of the Dutch people Protestants during this war (p. 43). The number of delegates to the States General was not fixed (p. 43), and the clergy in the province of Utrecht had lost its former political power since the sixteenth century (p. 47). On page 70 the strength of the Dutch army and navy is exaggerated, while on page 90 the writer overestimates the possible effect of the arrival of the Scots Brigade in America. Furthermore, the Dutch were not so indifferent toward the Americans in 1776 as Renaut alleges (pp. 120 and 134-135).

Whereas Van Wijk used contemporary pamphlets too extensively, Renaut has neglected them almost entirely. On page 256 he refers to an anonymous pamphlet and gives a despatch as his source. A more efficient method would have been to read the pamphlet itself. The numerous pamphlets published in the Dutch Republic from 1775 to 1780 are after all an important source of information, for they reflect public opinion in that country. Important also is the correspondence of such men as Van der Capellen, most of which has been published. Renaut, in contrast with

Jameson and Edler, has been careless with his foot-notes; the majority of them are inadequate, especially those on pages 67, 79, 383, 392, 403, and 411 of volume I. It is not sufficient to refer to a certain page in some volume of documents, without giving the title of the document in question. The reference in the bibliography to Jameson's well-known article on St. Eustatius is surprisingly faulty, for both the title and the author's name are wrongly given. Again, in contrast with several American writers, Renaut has not taken proper pains with the spelling of Dutch words. On page 8 of each volume he gives the wrong Dutch equivalent for England, France, and States General. Other errors are found on pages 202, 204, 210, 215, and 317 of volume I. It may also be noted that pages 66-70, 72-74, 162-186, and 188-196 in volume V. are identical with pages 189-193, 200-203, 258-282, and 298-306 in volume I.

A. HYMA.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations. Three volumes. Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING, Ph.D. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1925. Pp. xxxii, 2228. \$15.00.)

THIS is a work of the highest importance to students of the diplomatic history of the Western Hemisphere. The period covered is from the beginning of the movement of independence in 1810 to the dissolution of Great Colombia in 1830. The papers, by far the greater part of which have never before been published, are conveniently arranged in chronological order under the head of the country of origin. First and most important come the communications emanating from Washington. They contain no startling revelations, nor will the most careful examination of them result in any important revision of accepted views. But they do not for this reason lack interest. They include a number of great state papers, hitherto but little known, and as a whole they tell an engaging, consistent, forceful diplomatic story. The remaining space, about six-sevenths of the total, is devoted to communications received in Washington from other countries, European as well as Latin-American. Some of the European correspondence, relating to Florida, recognition, the Monroe Doctrine, and the status of Cuba and Porto Rico, has already appeared in print. There is enough of the new however to throw all these subjects into bolder relief. The correspondence from Latin America is at once the most novel and the most varied in quality. With the exception of a number of formal, colorless reports, none of it has previously been made public. It comes for the most part from men without experience or training in diplomacy. It is unsophisticated, free from finesse. It is fresh, genuine, matter-of-fact. Though it is not highly literate, it is always informing. Too often it is somewhat discursive, and sometimes it

reveals a lack of sympathetic insight. But it is never perverse, nor is it ever dull. It will be read throughout the continent with absorbing interest.

The selection of the documents must have been an arduous undertaking. It was necessary, first of all, to examine an enormous mass of correspondence comprised in more than four hundred manuscript volumes in the archives of the Department of State. Then followed the more difficult task of making a choice as to what should be included. Assuming that the editor was limited as to space, there is little ground for questioning his judgment on this point. On the contrary, his selection seems to have been made on the whole with a fine discrimination. Another might have made a slightly different compilation, but in any case the exclusion of important matter would have been inevitable.

Among the materials excluded were important documents relating to the Panama Congress, such as Clay's instructions to the delegates of the United States, the presidential pronouncements, Sergeant's letters from Mexico, and possibly other correspondence in the archives at Washington. Inasmuch as the work was destined to come from the press at the moment when the republics of the New World were preparing to celebrate the centennial of the Panama Congress, the occasion would have been peculiarly appropriate for the publication of all the documentary material to be found on the subject. Other rejected matter, as for example parts at least of the voluminous correspondence of Baptis Irvine, who represented the United States in Venezuela at a crucial period, should prove quite as interesting and as pertinent as much that was included. In certain instances gaps occur for which the editor is in no way responsible. Some papers appear to have been destroyed in connection with the British occupation of Washington in 1814, and others were extracted from the archives and never replaced. This was the case with the letters of Joel R. Poinsett written from Argentina and Chile between 1810 and 1814. They were returned to Poinsett in 1818 by direction of President Monroe, and it is possible that they may yet come to light. Even if none of the lost correspondence should be found, enough of value could be gleaned from the rejected material to form a supplementary volume. With this might be included the reports of naval officers, considered by the editor as not falling within the scope of the publication. The suggestion may be regarded as gratuitous. But it does not imply on the part of the reviewer a lack of appreciation of a work which is after all so useful, so well conceived, and so splendidly executed.

JOSEPH B. LOCKEY.

Life and Letters of Rear Admiral Stephen B. Luce, U. S. N. By Rear Admiral ALBERT GLEAVES, U. S. N., LL.D. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1925. Pp. xii, 381. \$4.00.)

ALL the world loves a sailor, but, though the average American has always basked in the deeds of American tars, he has never possessed more than the vaguest knowledge of the technical development of the navy.

For this reason it happens that Stephen B. Luce, who was a singularly important factor in this development, and so recognized by all naval experts, and who will ever be a beloved and admired figure in navy tradition, has remained practically unknown to his fellow-countrymen, who are so beholden to him. It happens too that Luce, though he did more than his full duty in war as a junior officer, accomplished his two paramount tasks, namely, the introduction of a sound system of training for seamen, and the establishment of the Naval War College, in time of peace, when the public at large is wont to take little interest in military matters.

Born in 1827, of a Massachusetts colonial family, at Albany, whither his father had shortly before removed, Stephen Bleecker Luce became a resident of Washington in his eighth year, and in 1841, four years before the establishment of the Naval Academy, was appointed by President Van Buren a midshipman in the navy, in which he was destined to serve the rest of his life, since, after retirement, he was "an active and interested member of the faculty of the War College for a period of nine years".

The author rightly enumerates among the characteristics of Admiral Luce his complete moral and physical bravery, his intrinsic refinement, courtesy, and culture, his love of action and adventure, his aggressiveness tempered by a high sense of justice and self-control, his love of tradition and conservatism, which, however, was never allowed to influence either his quick perception of the path to progress or his determined embarkation on that course. His conservatism had its foundations partly in the traditions of his blood, Puritan on one side and Dutch on the other, and partly because he was bred by the routine of the old-fashioned sailor in sailing ships. But, as our author says in his introductory remarks: "The many changes in the material conditions of the Navy during Admiral Luce's sixty-seven years of service never threw him behind. He kept himself always just ahead of the crest of the successive waves of progress and reorganization that swept over the Navy during what is called the transition period which followed the two decades of stagnation and demoralization succeeding the Civil War. 'His horizon was always ahead of him.'"

Luce firmly believed that a sailor could be made only at sea in sailing ships, and upon that doctrine, that the efficiency of the navy would be a hundred per cent. increased if every officer and man were a trained seaman, his new training system was founded. It was but a wholesome growth of the interest out of which grew his book on *Seamanship*, his especial talents as a ship-handler under sail unusually qualifying him for this work. It is the strict truth to say that Luce completely changed the character of the American naval seaman, who, when Luce entered the navy, and for many years after, was, as Admiral Staunton says in the United States Naval Institute *Proceedings* (May, 1926), of the "beach comber" variety. "We older officers all remember the type—gallant, brave, loyal, good sailors aloft, but victims of drink—reliable in the absence of alcohol, but unreliable in its presence; . . . men who had spent their lives at sea, who had no traditions of home, no trace of home influence, many of them

foreigners." It was a period of hard drinking and hard fighting in the service, "when men were allowed to go ashore only at long intervals, and were brought back to their ships sodden with liquor, maimed and bruised and insensible, and were hoisted over the side like so much beef" (Gleaves). Few of the crews of those days could read or write. This was the deplorable state of things when Luce set himself the arduous job of cleaning up the American sailor, physically and morally. He saw at once the necessity of training him by some methodical plan, and, while his efforts characteristically attracted but little attention at first, his ideas gradually took hold and became the fixed policy of our Navy Department, with the result that practically no foreigners now serve in the American navy, and that even "raw recruits are developed into men of self-respect and independent character, with a sense of fearless devotion to duty".

Many years before his death (1917) Luce had the richly earned satisfaction of watching the harvest of his efforts, significantly described by Admiral Staunton (see above) in the following incident: "I saw twenty years ago a large body, several hundred bluejackets, from the squadron in which I was serving, following one of the chaplains about over the Acropolis at Athens and listening to his descriptions of the monuments and glories of ancient Greece. Observers—not Americans but foreigners—thought it a most remarkable thing for sailors to do."

Though a religious man, Luce was devoid of cant. He was an enthusiastic advocate of wholesome sports for sailors; in fact he regarded them as an important part of his system, as a stimulus to morale. The writer remembers hearing some American tars who fought at Santiago stress the effect of the sporting spirit among the several gun-crews of the same ship, who were not only trying to send the enemy to the bottom, but also to make a better record than their mates in the next turret. It is this spirit among American sailors, largely due to Admiral Luce, which has never been understood by foreigners, who freely prophesied in 1898 that the American sailors would refuse to fight and even desert at the first crack of an enemy gun.

The admiral's second most important task, the establishment of the Naval War College at Newport, was in many ways a more difficult one. Whereas there was no great opposition to his proposed reform in the training of the personnel of the navy, the proposal to erect a kind of post-graduate college for officers ran counter to all the old-fogyism in the service, which could not understand how such a lover of sails and sheets as Luce could allow himself to be carried away with their very opposite, theory and science. He himself, in one of his War College lectures, has told how the idea crystallized in his mind. It was in 1865. "Charleston fell into our hands just as General Sherman said it would, by severing her communications. There was, then, I learned, such a thing as a military problem, and there was a way of solving it; or what was equally important, a way of determining whether or not it was susceptible of solution. The lessons to be drawn from this experience are that the Secretary of the

Navy should have, if only in justice to himself, a staff of naval experts to lean upon, that this staff should be attached to and made a part of his office, and be under his immediate supervision; and that the members of this staff should be prepared for staff duty by a special course of study. In other words, the Civil War demonstrated conclusively the necessity of a War College and a general staff. We have the one; let us now have the other without more ado."

"Thus", says Admiral Gleaves (p. 102), "was conceived the idea of the War College, but it was twenty years before it became a reality; and then only by perseverance that never faltered. A Naval War College was Luce's goal, and through years of rebuffs and discouragement he never desponded. As was said of Lord Fisher, he made his way with extraordinary independence of mind and directness of aim through obstacles that lay in his path from those who had no political backing and no conventional arts. He respected nothing that was old because it was old, and he feared nothing that was powerful because it was powerful."

As to the success of this, his second great accomplishment, it is enough to say that the Naval War College is the admiration of the world. The effect of the absence of such an institution in time of emergency can easily be seen by reading of the floundering of the British Admiralty during the World War.

It must have been a delightful task to write the life of a man like Luce, and Admiral Gleaves has turned out an uncommonly readable and illuminating book.

EDWARD BRECK.

White Servitude in Pennsylvania, Indentured and Redemption Labor in Colony and Commonwealth. By CHEESMAN A. HERRICK, Ph.D., LL.D. (Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey. 1926. Pp. vi, 330. \$4.50.)

THIS book should be welcomed by all students of American colonial history, for the subject under consideration is far more important than the scanty supply of organized literature now in our libraries would indicate. It is now more than twenty-five years since anything approaching a systematic account of indentured labor has been published. At that time three monographs, following one another within a few years, were published describing this form of labor in the three colonies in which it was most important: Virginia was treated by Ballagh, Pennsylvania by Geiser, and Maryland by MacCormac; but the limited edition of the study on Pennsylvania has since been exhausted and the present volume is therefore especially timely, for in that colony the institution of indentured service formed a more important part of the economic system than in any other colony or state. And Dr. Herrick's book is by far the most comprehensive, thorough, and exhaustive study that has yet appeared. And well it may be, for the author tells us that it has been in process of formation and development for twenty-eight years, that "it has been twice rewritten

in its entirety. Some parts of it have been written four times. It has become an intimate, almost sacred, part of the writer's life".

Moreover it is more than an account of indentured service; it is a complete sketch of the founding of a settlement colony. The original grant to William Penn, the concessions to the settlers, the propaganda to attract settlers, the laws that governed the immigrant and the servant, the network of laws that governed contracts, the sale and marriage of servants, and the relation of the whole system to the mother country, to the Revolution, and to the final separation, are all adequately described.

The colonial problem of Pennsylvania was somewhat different from that of the Southern colonies where slavery was the principal form of labor. The English, Scottish, Irish, and German immigrants who settled in Pennsylvania began manufactures early. It was settled after the initial difficulties in New World colonization had been overcome and this fact no doubt had its influence in perpetuating this form of servitude for more than a century after the founding of Pennsylvania. It was in part to satisfy the demand of an industrial community with diversified production that the indentured labor system here assumed such proportions. One reason for its continuance in Pennsylvania was the sentiment that was here formed against slavery but which tolerated this milder form of servitude as a necessary evil. In fact the people of Pennsylvania were the first to oppose slavery; it was in a German Quaker meeting in 1688 that the first anti-slavery memorial was issued; and this agitation against slavery and the importation of negroes was a constant source of friction between the colony and the mother country from the beginning of the settlement until the Declaration of Independence. But the institution of white servitude continued in Pennsylvania until about 1820, when it died a natural death. In the struggle between the two systems—slavery and indentured labor—the former triumphed because life service was cheaper and better adapted to the economic needs of the South. After the long agitation against slavery had ended in the conflict that left such deep wounds upon the social and economic life of America, and the historian came to place his estimate upon the past, it was but natural that the more violent form of human misery should receive undue attention to the neglect of the milder system of bound service. Dr. Herrick's work should do much to give the future historian material for a better balanced account of the labor question in our early history.

The volume is well annotated, with numerous quotations from, references to, and photographs of original material from American archives and the Public Record Office in London. Fifty-four pages are devoted to appendixes containing extracts from laws, sources, bibliographies, illustrative material, and an appendix.

KARL F. GEISER.

History of North Carolina. By SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE, LL.D.
Volume II. *From 1783 to 1925.* (Raleigh: Edwards and
Broughton. 1925. Pp. xv, 1449, 19. \$9.50.)

THOSE who know Captain Ashe can only feel admiration for the long period of devotion he has shown to the history of his native state. It has been a persistent and loyal labor of love, inspired by the determination to give North Carolina a complete and patriotic history, which she did not have before his work was done. In view of this condition the work is a state blessing. It makes it at last possible to turn to its ample pages and find what happened in most of the incidents of North Carolina history, and that is something that could not be done in the past. His work has been done with commendable industry and his statements are trustworthy. From his own point of view the book is good history.

In these days histories are written for two principal purposes. They are designed to serve as storehouses of information out of which other writers mine precious metals, or they are written to supply to serious-minded men interesting and informing reading that ministers to the culture of the individual and the promotion of a general knowledge of the experience of the men of the past. Captain Ashe's book must be measured by these two standards. It may serve the future historian through the discovery of new information and the correct interpretation of facts; or it may reveal what is the true significance of North Carolina as a state among the states and make the reader understand it.

It may be that Captain Ashe wrote with the idea that his book would serve each of these ends. If so, he has not succeeded; for he has not produced a striking or very original study of North Carolina history, nor has he presented us an attractive popular history. This does not mean that he has not introduced into his pages a mass of facts, nor does it mean that his sentences are not pleasant reading. As an old newspaper man he has the faculty of writing clearly what he attempts to say. But to fill the requirement of a people's history he should have organized his materials better, making his chapters topical, and striking for a general and significant characterization of North Carolina. The wonderful progress of the state in later times has grown out of the liberation of the energies of the class that had a middle position in the years of slavery. It is the upward reaching of the new democracy, now in its second generation since the Civil War, that has remade the industrial life of the state into the similitude of other American states and in doing so has given North Carolinians aspirations they never before entertained. To the reviewer it seems that the author is oblivious of this important fact.

The method he has followed may be called panoramic. He unfolds a screen, running it off section by section, with a neat and pleasant picture painted on each section, each coming chronologically, and each presented with little relation to the thing that went before. In reading the book the reviewer has received many pleasant impressions. He has learned that

things have happened and he has had before his eyes the names of many worthy men, with little glimpses of their activities. But for him as a new scene rolls on the screen the preceding always rolls off. In the end he is forced to reflect that he has not learned a great deal about North Carolina as a community. It must be that this state, like others, had policies that grew one out of the other and gave character to her history. He would have been glad if these policies had been presented as phases of the state's history, political, social, industrial, literary, and what not.

Captain Ashe is evidently most interested in the phase of North Carolina history that deals with the Civil War, in which he was himself an active participant. Fully conscious of the eminent part the state took in that struggle he has set out to relate it without stint, and without boasting. He puts the contribution of the state to the Confederate armies at one hundred twenty-five thousand, "a number larger than her voting strength". She gave more men to the Confederacy than any other Confederate state by 22,942. Accepting his estimate that the entire Confederate army contained only six hundred thousand men, we see that the state furnished more than one-fifth of them. He follows these men in all their campaigns with a loving glance and ample tribute. He does the same for the state's contribution to the American Expeditionary Forces in the World War. For this act of devotion few will blame him.

His warm spirit dwells with equal emphasis on the trials of reconstruction. He sees them from the Southern standpoint, perhaps not enough from the other side as well; for Reconstruction had its two sides, as all other questions have. On the side of the men who tried to impose on the South an unnatural form of government there was a great deal that was bad, but there was something good, too; and the historian who has detachment will find and describe it. Captain Ashe does not conceal his feelings in the matter.

JOHN S. BASSETT.

A History of Louisiana: Wilderness, Colony, Province, Territory, State, People. By HENRY E. CHAMBERS. Three volumes. (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society.¹ 1925. Pp. xv, 727, lxxv; 395; 388. \$35.00.)

DESPITE numerous defects this is an interesting and useful book. It would have been much more interesting and infinitely more useful had the effort and money expended on volumes II. and III. been utilized in perfecting volume I. This contains, besides preface and introduction, a narrative of Louisiana history to the election of Governor Fuqua (1924); an appendix, containing a list of Louisiana officers in the Confederate army, a sketch of General LeJeune of the Marine Corps, an alphabetical list of Louisiana authors, and the rather inadequate index for all three

¹ It is important that readers should be made aware that there is no connection between the publishing house which has seen fit to assume this name and the American Historical Association. Ed.

volumes. The other two volumes are a sort of "Who's Who in Louisiana". Both the inclusions and the omissions engender the suspicion that most of the subjects paid a certain sum to have their "write-ups" included, with an additional fee for a portrait. How else can one explain a full-page picture of a lad who died soon after entering college? As these sketches are thrown together without any system, alphabetical, chronological, geographical or other, these two volumes are well-nigh useless.

While the frequent repetition of such moving-picture captions as "Came a time", "Return we now", etc., is rather monotonous, the style of volume I. is interesting and usually clear, though often rather florid. In the main this volume is an accurate account of the development of Louisiana from wilderness to state. Such chapters as America's First Melting Pot, Early Government in Louisiana, Early Colonial Industries, Life when the State was Young, Schools and Lotteries, etc., are particularly interesting and useful.

Louisiana's contributions to civilization are summarized in the introduction. One is surprised to find that while Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske and Brander Matthews are claimed for Louisiana, by virtue of having been born in New Orleans, no mention is made of such genuine and eminent Louisianians as the historian Gaillard Hunt, the diplomat James B. Eustis, the scientists Chaillé, Matás, and Coates.

Some of the more glaring errors call for a word. Jay's fruitless negotiations (1785-1787) with Gardoqui are referred to (p. 350) as "the great John Jay treaty". Chapters LIX. and LX. are a futile attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of the unsavory James Wilkinson. Mr. Chambers seems to think that there has been a conspiracy to besmirch this lily of patriotism. All the obloquy, he avers, arose from Wilkinson's purely Pickwickian oath of allegiance to Spain, when Wilkinson was a private trader in Kentucky. Apparently the author is not familiar with the results of the researches of Professor Cox in the Spanish archives, which revealed that Wilkinson, while commander of the American troops in the Southwest (1804), solicited and accepted a pension from the Spanish authorities in West Florida, promising to ascertain and reveal to them the plans of President Jefferson (*American Historical Review*, XIX. 794-812).

Since the occasional foot-notes cite only a few of the sources used, it is regrettable that there is no bibliography. The reader would like to know, for example, just what documents constitute the basis of the excellent account of the "Colfax riot". Again, the absence of a bibliography and the lacunae in the list of Louisiana authors leave one wondering if Mr. Chambers has deliberately ignored such works as Fleming's *W. T. Sherman as College President* and Lonn's *Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868*.

The press-work is only mediocre. While a few of the illustrations in volume I. are purely imaginative, most of them are authentic and useful. Typographical errors abound, the worst being the title of the picture on

page 128, which is given as "The old Place d'Arms [sic] of [sic] Drill Ground", instead of Place d'Armes or Drill Ground.

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

History of Ohio. By CHARLES, B. GALBREATH. Five volumes. (Chicago: American Historical Society. 1925. Pp. lii, 710, 832, 464, 464, 466. \$35.00.)

ONE concludes the examination of this work with the feeling that the publishers are misrepresenting their product, in the name the organization has taken, in the title given the work, and in attributing it to the pen of Mr. Galbreath. In the first place a firm engaged in publication for profit has taken a name—"The American Historical Society"—which implies an association of historical scholars. By the choice of a name closely resembling that of the American Historical Association it is probable some purchasers were deceived as to the character of the publication.¹ In the second place the title of the work—*History of Ohio*—is misleading. Of the five volumes three are composed of brief sketches of living citizens of Ohio or of those recently deceased. This use of biographical sketches as a device for marketing a so-called history has been repeatedly employed in Ohio. Finally the historical portions are the product of several pens, without much evidence of editorial supervision. For example, in the section of the first volume devoted to the Colonial and Revolutionary Period is a chapter written by President Morgan of Antioch College to describe the work which has been accomplished in the Miami Conservancy District for flood control as a result of the flood of 1913. It is true President Morgan was the chief engineer of the Miami Conservancy District and therefore particularly qualified to write upon this subject. Some other contributed articles are not without some historical value because of the author's experience. There is one by William C. Mills, director of the Archaeological and Historical Society, on the archaeology of Ohio; another by Harry C. Shetrone, curator of archaeology for the same society, on the Indian history of Ohio; an article by O. T. Corson, a former state superintendent of schools, on the Ohio Public Schools; and a brief one by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton on the Woman's Suffrage Movement. It is difficult to believe that the incorporation in Mrs. Upton's chapter of a story of an illiterate colored woman and that person's speech on Woman's Rights was a part of Mrs. Upton's contribution. Whether or no, it illustrates a tendency to resort to the bizarre in the choice of subjects, or to appeal to the reader's love of the sensational. The apportionment of space in the narrative is often fantastic. One of the best chapters, apparently the work of Mr. Galbreath, that on Ohio in the War of 1812, a chapter which shows some little evidence of familiarity with recent historical writing and which is written in a praiseworthy tone of fairness, is marred by the insertion of a five-page account (a fifth of the

¹ See note on p. 143.

space given to the war) of the execution of one of Perry's seamen for desertion. In the chapter on the Mexican War the author devotes one page to a meagre statement of the causes of the war, four to regimental records, and three to the case of Victor Gilbreath, a bugler from Ohio. The Gilbreath case, that of a soldier executed for a breach of discipline, is a relic of Whig propaganda against the war. As here employed it may interest curious readers, it can not possibly serve a useful purpose in the history of the Mexican War. Wars and incidents of adventure dragged out from old histories and quoted in wearisome detail occupy a disproportionate place. Ohio's part in the anti-slavery movement receives the emphasis it would have had a generation or two ago. There is the old exaggeration of the influence of the slavery clause in the Ordinance of 1787. "In view of the fact that John Brown was for the most of his life a resident of Ohio" the author chooses to give fifty-five pages to his activities, for the most part in Kansas and Virginia. The Ohio canals are put off with less than two pages of scattered statements. One more case will illustrate the methods of composition and of the handling of historical evidence. There is a chapter on the origin and authorship of the Ordinance of 1787; more than half is a compilation of the opinions of others, in every case from sources easily accessible.

Galbreath's *History of Ohio* will not add to the author's creditable record as a worker in Ohio history. In most respects it is a hasty, unorganized, uncritical compilation. The acknowledgments in the preface and the internal evidence as to the nature of the work leave the impression that Mr. Galbreath had little share in the actual compilation and still less in the editorial supervision. The fact that such a publication can find a profitable market is monumental evidence of the backwardness of Ohioans in writing their own state's history or in standards for the books which shall have a place in their libraries. Historians of Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Indiana must wonder what is the matter with Ohio. Mr. Galbreath thinks that it is a remarkable tribute to a certain Ohio history that no effort was made to supplant or supplement it for forty years. May not this same fact, and others which might be cited in an account of the histories of Ohio, be an evidence of the low state of culture in the oldest community of the Old Northwest?

ELBERT J. BENTON.

Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest. By GRANT FOREMAN.
(Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark. 1926. Pp. 349. \$6.00.)

THE book suggests a three-reel motion-picture film of the southwest frontier of the United States from 1817 to 1847, with a brief introductory glimpse of the period preceding 1817. Set against the background of Fort Gibson and Fort Smith there are commercial possibilities for the film world in its 350 pages. Across the screen would pass such personages as Washington Irving, Andrew Jackson, Sam Houston, Zachary Taylor,

Jefferson Davis, John Howard Payne, Francis Scott Key, Thomas Nuttall, George Catlin, Captain Bonneville, General Henry Leavenworth, Colonel A. P. Chouteau, Albert Pike, Colonel Henry Dodge, Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, Colonel Mathew Arbuckle, and with them such frontier Indian figures as Black Hawk, Sequoyah, John Ross, Clermont, and Black Beaver.

Outside of the notables in the picture would appear that splendid galaxy of then unconquered plains Indian tribes: Osage, Pawnee, Comanche, Kiowa, with others still further in the background, and with the Cherokee and Creek migrations crossing the Mississippi river and piling up against the horizon of western plains.

The United States undertook, in the Southwest, to solve a threefold problem of extreme difficulty in the period covered: to pacify the wild plains Indians; to project upon their border a forced migration of 60,000 Indians from east of the Mississippi; to control the Texas-Mexico situation in a manner satisfactory to its own people.

In other books are many snapshot pictures of the southwestern frontier. Mr. Foreman's achievement is the production of a series of pictures making a complete story of persons and events in that region for the period assigned. His materials are largely drawn from the original sources in the archives at Washington, and he is quite evidently embarrassed by the wealth of them for his one-volume story. Since there is too much to present in full he has emphasized striking episodes, such as the bloody feud between the Osage and the Pawnee-Kiowa-Comanche alliance; the ventures of Sam Houston into frontier politics and war; the miseries of the Colonel Henry Dodge expedition; the first peace with the plains tribes; the elements of Indian trade and the beginnings of navigation and of agriculture. Mingled with the main current of his story are items of important scientific information needed to-day by the weather prophet, the medical profession, the botanist, zoologist, ethnologist, and sociologist in their studies. Samples of these items are the self-support in building and in agriculture of frontier military commands; the years of great rainfall and of severe winters; the destructive flies (probably the familiar green-head) which destroyed cavalry commands; the habits of prairie chickens and passenger pigeons; the malarial fever which smote the early military expeditions; the status of relations between the wandering wild men of the plains and their red neighbors passing into the farm phase of Indian life.

One of the most important threads of information in Mr. Foreman's book for the historian and ethnologist of Indian tribes in the central and northern plains is found in his discussion of the name "Pawnee" and the location of these people and their cognate tribes. The statement on page 116 that the name "Pawnee" was applied generally to the prairie Indians of the Southwest sheds new light, if true, on the Coronado and other expeditions. The relations of the four Pawnee bands living in Nebraska with their relatives the Wichita and with their enemies of the Southwest

is especially interesting. The statement that the Pawnee of the Platte ravaged the Kickapoo tribe living on the Canadian border, and that the Kiowa secured brass buckets prior to 1833 by trading with the Pawnees who secured them from white traders in the Platte region, are both of special interest. Coronado reports the Quivira Indians as living in grass houses. Mr. Foreman shows that corn-stalks were also used in the construction of Wichita homes.

There are some errors, proof-reading mistakes which should not have got by. The most important error from the historian's point of view is found on page 17, where the old account of the Spanish expedition under Colonel (not captain) Villasur is printed (as drawn from secondary writers) indicating that Villasur's command was destroyed by the Missouri Indians in what is now Saline county, Missouri. This old version of Villasur's objective and place of destruction (derived from French frontier rumor and tradition) is now completely superseded by accurate information derived from the Spanish archives, in part by Baron Marc de Villiers of Paris and published in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* at Paris in 1921, and in part by the researches of Dr. A. B. Thomas of the University of California. The first of these documents was translated by the writer of this review and first published in America in 1923. The second was first printed in the *Nebraska History Magazine* in 1925. These two documents show beyond any doubt that the Villasur expedition never went to Missouri; that it reached the valley of the Platte in Central Nebraska in August, 1720, and was there destroyed by Otoe and Pawnee warriors.

ADDISON E. SHELDON.

MINOR NOTICES

The Historian and Historical Evidence. By Allen Johnson, Professor of American History, Yale University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926, pp. 179, \$2.00.) This attractive little book on historical methodology was prepared for future writers of history and also for the intelligent reading public which would like to know how to discriminate between histories and histories (preface). The "physiology" is necessarily and avowedly *Bernheimische*, but the author has his own accent, catchy, recent illustrations, the new psychology, and an easy and zestful manner of writing. The book is so interesting that one may be sure the author enjoyed doing it.

Technically speaking the volume presents *Heuristik*, stresses *Kritik*, touches on *Auffassung*, and ignores *Darstellung*. The author's preference is for chapters VI. and VII., the Nature of Historical Proof and the Use of Hypotheses, where the "psychology of perception and testimony" is drawn upon. He makes it clear that the historian can never reach mathematical certainty but only a high degree of probability (p. 141) and that he makes free use of hypotheses. Following the more sceptical principles

of Langlois and Seignobos, the author criticizes Bernheim for his willingness to accept the testimony of a single, unexceptionable witness which fits into "dem uns sonst bekannten allgemeinen Zusammenhang der Thatsachen" (*Lehrbuch*, 1908, p. 533; not p. 368 as the text avers on page 145, note). The author argues his point cogently and helpfully (pp. 145-146), but really overdoes it, for Bernheim guards his position most carefully (pp. 533-536). Moreover, if an author who deceives us once is rightly suspect (p. 81), is nothing to be conceded to one who has never deceived us? Contrariwise, Mr. Johnson seems a bit unsceptical in the confidence he reposes in public documents (p. 149).

Chapter V., the Evolution of Method, is not essential, but it will help to interest an intelligent novice in the fascinating ancestry of the problems of methodology. In the brief list of writings in English space might have been found for Henry Johnson's remarkable chapter I., What History is, in his *Teaching of History* (New York, 1915).

Some slips of author or printer have been caught. The *Rerum Britannicarum . . . Scriptores* are faultily cited (p. 16). G. J. Voss (p. 101, note), Ch. de Smedt (p. 129), Ernst Bernheim (p. 137) are given incorrectly. *Propädeutik* is misspelled (p. 126, note). The form of footnotes (e.g., pp. 82, 84) should be standardized. Things-in-themselves are not supposed to stimulate anything (p. 141). The Bible does not say that where your treasure is there *shall* your heart be also.

Nonobstante, this is a learned, witty, and stimulating book. It should be put into the hands of all graduate students in history. Undergraduate majors ought to be required to read it and professors should run through it of an evening when the pipe is drawing well.

G. C. SELLERY.

History and Historical Problems. By Ernest Scott, Professor of History in the University of Melbourne. (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. 219, 6 d.) Those familiar with Professor Scott's *Short History of Australia* will not be surprised to find in this volume the same attractive, vivid style and fine scholarship that characterize the earlier work. It consists substantially of a series of lectures given to audiences made up largely of history teachers, and deals with topics of general interest such as the purpose of history, the principles of historical inquiry, and the relation of history to geography, physical science, education, and patriotism. Upon these and many other kindred problems, the author presents his reflections and observations in a manner calculated not only to awaken the interest, but to clarify the thinking and sober the judgment of the reader.

His comments are marked not so much by novelty as by sound sense and judiciousness. He finds it easy to shift his point of view and consider a question from several different angles. The various aspects of a subject, as, for example, the great-man theory of history, the amount of space to be given to wars, or how much the political factor should be

weighted, are given consideration with extraordinary impartiality. No claim is made, however, to complete freedom from bias. "To be altogether unbiassed", he writes, "is to be negative. . . . The test of dependableness, indeed, is not the absence of bias, but the presence of good faith. . . . It is this good faith which makes sound history, not the dehumanizing of the historian by making him deciduous in respect to opinions, feelings, sympathies, and aversions."

By weaving into the discussion many apt quotations (for which happily exact references are given) much of the best thought of previous writers on the topics treated is brought together in brief compass. As a whole the volume will serve as a useful introduction to historical studies and a stimulus to the writer and teacher of history.

H. P. GALLINGER.

Saturated Civilization. By Sigmund Mendelsohn. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xix, 180, \$1.75.) The cyclical theory of historical change propounded by Greek philosophers and reappearing from time to time in the writings of thoughtful scholars is a familiar and attractive theory. Mr. Mendelsohn restates this theory in his book *Saturated Civilization* and maintains that our present industrial machine-culture is at a surfeit of material progress and is approaching a stage of saturation which is the first step toward decay.

Modern civilization is unlike earlier cultures in that it is practical and rational. Compared with the degradation of laboring masses in the Middle Ages, the working classes of our Western civilization show greatly improved status. Expanding trade and commerce, constitutional government, popular suffrage, compulsory education, and trade-unionism have invested labor with power and prestige. But the elevation of labor has impaired economic productivity to an extent which genius for mechanical invention has not been able to offset because the invention of each new labor-saving device, far from displacing labor, does in the long run increase the demand for labor by opening up auxiliary fields of production. Our system of transportation is over-expanded, credit is over-extended, and the high tension of industrial life has over-strained our social and economic organization. The limit of mechanical inventiveness has been attained because no fundamental improvements in mechanical principles have been made. Natural resources are being exhausted and human energy has turned to the production of non-essentials, luxuries, and material indulgences. The beginnings of social deterioration are seen in relaxation, shorter hours of labor, and increased leisure.

The book is useful and stimulating as a challenge to that superficial optimism which currently regards our present social order as the be-all and the end-all of human attainment. There is much repetition in the book. Evidence supporting the author's hypothesis is not well organized and he misses entirely many significant sources of evidence which would support his theory. The book does not bear favorable comparison with

Flinders Petrie's compact but logical argument from historic facts which in his *Revolutions of Civilizations* he presents to support the same sort of theory in which Mendelsohn is interested.

F. STUART CHAPIN.

Ranke's Begriff der Weltgeschichte. Von Gerhard Masur. [Beiheft 6 der *Historischen Zeitschrift*.] (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1926, pp. 133, 5.80 M.) In a brief introduction, Masur discusses the difficulties inherent in the conception of "Weltgeschichte", and in the presentation of a history of world-history writing. He follows this with a sketch of the development of "Weltgeschichte" from the beginning of Christian thought to the time of Ranke. The remaining two-thirds of the book is devoted to an analysis of Ranke's ideas in regard to world-history. For students who find some difficulty in coming to close quarters with current discussions of the problems of historiography in German writers, this book may be recommended as a clear and succinct statement of fundamental ideas. The "Einleitung" should, in particular, be of service to those whose philosophical training has been limited.

The compression of the discussion in Masur's book rules out the possibility of making either an epitome or a criticism of his argument in a brief space. As a substitute, attention may be called to one or two points of particular interest. The author points out (p. 111) that Ranke did not make use of the concept of evolution. This was not because he failed to recognize the interest in the conceptions of development set forth by Herder or Hegel, but because for him they possessed no absolute validity. In direct opposition to the emanistic ideas of Herder, Savigny, and Grimm, he emphasized the fact that states do not grow like organisms, but that, for the most part, their form is dependent upon historical circumstances, and on the character of historical individuals. It is well to remember, in presence of discussions going on at the present time, that the background of Ranke's effort to state "what it was that actually happened" was the existence of a type of "history" which rested upon the abstract method of genetical analysis.

The conflict in Ranke's work between the idealistic and scientific tendencies in the thought of his time is brought out in another significant statement (p. 127). "Ranke's world-history", Masur says, "is the last great historical presentation in which we find Christian thought expressed in its relation to the basic philosophical concepts of German idealism. At the same time, it is the first world-history in which the attempt is made to build up an historical continuity empirically, taking into consideration the results of the development of historical studies. From the diversity of these two basic elements arise the contradictions which we believed we ought not to conceal. . . . In Ranke, historical science (*Wissenschaft*), in its purest and strongest form, was permeated with a religious and philosophical content. . . . Unconsciously, Ranke's world-history owes its teleological continuity to a cement of super-historical conceptions."

F. J. T.

History of Arithmetic. By Charles Louis Karpinski, Professor of Mathematics, University of Michigan. (Chicago, Rand, McNally, and Company, 1925, pp. xii, 200, \$2.00.) This work will be of interest to the bibliographer, the teacher of arithmetic, and the student, but to the first of these alone will it be of value. The list of American arithmetics published before 1800 is the only one of much importance to appear in print, and assuming that more care has been taken in its preparation than is shown in the rest of the work it will serve a useful purpose. For the bibliographer, too, a considerable number of the facsimiles will be helpful despite the fact that most of them are poorly executed.

For the teacher of arithmetic, who is in need of precise information that he can pass on to his pupils, the book has altogether too many errors to be a safe guide. From the considerable list observed by this reviewer it is impossible in the space allowed to give more than a random selection. For example, the Chinese did not call their computing rods "sangi"; if by "Chiu-chang" is meant the well-known *Arithmetic in Nine Sections* (K'iu-ch'ang Suan-shu), Chinese scholars do not generally assign it to the first century B. C., as stated; the date for Mahavir (p. 45) is a century out of the way, as the context shows; the Arabs did not enter Spain in the year 772 A. D.; the date given to the Treviso arithmetic (p. 110) is eight years too early; and "million" is said to appear for the first time in print in Borghi's work of 1494, although it is found in the Treviso book of 1478.

To the pupil who wishes a rapid glance at some of the interesting features in the development of arithmetic, and who will not use it as a work of reference, the book will probably do but little harm.

The Faliscans in Prehistoric Times. By Louise Adams Holland. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. V.] (Rome, American Academy, 1925, pp. 162 and 13 plates, \$2.50.) In a little district near Mt. Soracte north of Rome lived the ancient Faliscans, a tribe which obstinately continued to speak a dialect closely akin to Latin even though surrounded by Etruscans for centuries. The first scientific search for prehistoric remains of this people was begun by Italian scholars, Pasqui, Cozza, and Mengarelli, a little more than twenty years ago; now Miss Holland has gathered together the material available in this present study. Naturally the work is almost wholly concerned with burials and objects found in tombs.

Although no village or necropolis has been found in the district studied, it seems evident that the area was already inhabited in the Neolithic and Bronze periods; but whence the people came no one can say with confidence. The earliest cemeteries discovered belong to the Iron Age, within which the authoress distinguishes three periods. In the first, cremation burials alone are found, deposited in *pozzi* with local handmade pottery of dark *impasto*. The second has burials in both *pozzi* and *fosse*. The pottery is still of local origin but the wheel begins to be used in its

manufacture, while reddish ware and painted ornaments also have been discovered. Inhumation was practised in this period side by side with incineration, showing, it is believed, the influence of an immigrating stock, which possibly came from the Apennines across the Tiber. In the third period the trench, often with a chamber attached, becomes the ordinary form of tomb, and inhumation the dominant method of burial, without, however, driving out incineration. Naturally the objects found in graves are now more numerous and elaborate, including imported vases and their local imitations.

Miss Holland has fortunately been able to illustrate her book in part with the Faliscan pottery in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Although she has intentionally left out studies of imported objects, red-figured pottery, and the later terra-cottas from temples, her book will be of interest and value to those who are concerned with the prehistoric remains in Italy, until such time as more discoveries and larger studies make a more complete account of the Faliscans possible.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

England and the World. Arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. [Unity Series, VII.] (London, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. 268, 10 s. 6 d.) This volume of the Unity Series begins with the suggestion that the megalithic culture of the Avebury and Stonehenge era was continuous with that of Iberia, France, and Scandinavia, and that the early societies of these regions were outposts of Egyptian and Cretan civilization. Dr. Carlyle's suggestive essay on medieval English and Continental affinities (to 1500) omits, unfortunately, any discussion of common economic traits. The period since 1500 is divided rather arbitrarily into centuries; there is a recognition of the many disruptive tendencies, but the interdependence and the peaceful relations are emphasized here as elsewhere in the book. The governing principle of England's foreign policy since the sixteenth century, the balance of power, is curiously described as an effort on the part of England to checkmate any Continental power which "threatened to annihilate Europe" (Gooch, p. 114). Succeeding chapters deal interestingly, though not always convincingly (*e.g.*, see p. 179), with England's relations to the New World, to the East, and to "backward" peoples. Chapter XI, on England and the League of Nations, emphasizes the part played by the Empire in laying the foundations of internationalism by achieving "so great a variety of combinations between local and larger patriotisms" (Marvin, p. 236). In the concluding chapter, a sort of pedagogical appendix, the author looks forward to the time when "in a concrete and perfectly simple manner we shall have initiated [among children] the habit of looking over the frontier, and scouting for signs of a kindred humanity" (Gould, p. 244).

In this quotation and in the name of the series in which the book appears we find by implication the purpose of the authors. The avowed object is "to envisage the unity of European history" (Carlyle, p. 48); to

"seek some principle of unity in history" (Grant, p. 76). "The moral of our rapid survey is that we are living in a world whose parts are connected with one another by a thousand visible and invisible threads; . . . and that the perils which beset us can only be overcome by the joint endeavors of men and women of good will in every land" (Gooch, p. 152). These conceptions determine the selection and interpretation of facts. Some may question the validity of the purpose, but within the limits of their objective and of the space at their command, the authors have produced an excellent volume.

WITT BOWDEN.

Traffic Ways about France in the Dark Ages, 500-1150. By Leicester Bodine Holland. (Allentown, Pa., H. Ray Haas and Company, 1919, pp. v, 99, \$2.00.) This is a doctoral dissertation presented to the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania. It begins with a chapter on Gallo-Roman highways, in which the point is made that river traffic in Gaul was far less important than Strabo's well-known description of the country would lead one to suppose, and in which the location of the Roman roads is studied. The main portion of the book is devoted to a study of the known itineraries of kings and popes, with a view to determining as exactly as possible the routes by which they travelled. Some, though less, attention is paid to the journeys of pilgrims and merchants. Other known travels of the period are for the most part neglected. There is a convenient map showing the medieval highways, so far as determined, and the journeys of kings and popes are set out conveniently in tabular form in an appendix.

Though the work contains much useful information in convenient form, it has some shortcomings which should be noted. One can not help objecting to a title which includes the first half of the twelfth century in the "dark ages". More serious is the fact that the scope of the investigation is too great to enable it to be accomplished with the thoroughness which should characterize a dissertation. The author is hardly the master of the secondary literature of his subject (*e.g.*, he takes no account of recent literature bearing upon pilgrimage routes) and the royal itineraries could almost certainly have been made more complete by the use of documentary sources. Broad as is the scope embraced by the title, the author has not hesitated to extend his survey to routes of travel which lay far beyond the confines of France, either medieval or modern. A more limited and more exhaustive inquiry would have been preferable. The author makes no attempt to do more than locate the traffic ways. He must have gathered some fragments of information concerning the condition of the roads and the manner of travel upon them, which would have added much to the interest of the volume had they been included.

C. W. D.

Étude sur les Ministeriales en Flandre et en Lotharingie. Par François-L. Ganshof, Chargé de Cours, Université de Gand. (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, 1926, pp. 456, 16 M.) The servile retainers technically described in medieval Germany as *ministeriales* have long attracted scholarly interest, and to explain their peculiarities numerous monographs have already been published. On the history of this class in the Low Countries M. Ganshof now furnishes us with an exhaustive and authoritative study, the fruit of research begun when the author first sat in the *cours de critique* of M. Pirenne.

The method pursued by M. Ganshof is admirable. Following a careful definition of the subject in hand, he summarizes the leading opinions that have previously been advanced with regard to the *ministeriales*, particularly in Germany. Then, coming to his own investigations, he divides his materials between Flanders and Lotharingia. Within each region he works out a complete catalogue of the known families of *ministeriales*, and on the basis of the evidence thus marshalled, states his conclusions.

In the latter connection nothing revolutionary is proposed. M. Ganshof gives judgment solidly in support of the "classic doctrine": that the *ministeriales* were originally bondmen, who, because of their personal subjection, came to be employed in various official capacities by both lay and ecclesiastical lords. Faithful service brought rich reward in landed wealth, political power, and social prestige. The strange spectacle was then seen of serfs marrying daughters of ancient knightly houses. But by this time the servile status of the *ministeriales* was plainly legal fiction, and all distinction between them and the regular nobility quickly faded. In Lotharingia this evolution begins during the tenth century and is completed by the end of the thirteenth. In Flanders, where social transformation was more rapid, all trace of the class is lost before 1200.

On the whole, M. Ganshof has given us a sound piece of work, clearly and judiciously presented. The volume maintains a high standard of workmanship. It contains an index of names, a full table of contents, and an excellent bibliography.

CARL STEPHENSON.

Anglo-Dutch Relations from the Earliest Times to the Death of William the Third, being an Historical Introduction to a Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary. By J. F. Bense, Lit.Ph.D. (The Hague, M. Nijhoff; London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1924, 1925, pp. xx, 293, 16 s.) This book might fittingly be described as an elaboration of those pages in Allan Cunningham's *Alien Immigrants to England* that deal with immigrants from the Netherlands. For Dr. Bense is chiefly interested in the contribution of Dutchmen to English civilization, the part that Englishmen have played in the development of the Low Countries being of minor concern to him. The very nature of his subject-matter led to this one-sided treatment of Anglo-Dutch relations, since during the age-long intercourse between the two

countries most of the borrowing was done by the English. Weavers, arras makers, printers, bookbinders, paper makers, engravers, painters, glaziers, gunners, armorers, and several other types of artisans were imported from the continent, mostly from France and the Netherlands. The crown encouraged this immigration of foreign labor, in the face of strong opposition by the people, for the concourse of aliens to England was a source of increased revenue to the crown, since, apart from the trade that it brought to the country and the import and export duties derived therefrom, these aliens paid double subsidy and occasionally a poll tax. But royal greed only added a stimulus, it was not the cause of this influx of labor from abroad. The exodus of skilled workmen from the Low Countries seems to have been an unbroken tradition from the days before the Conquest, their armies following in the track of the raids that Angles and Saxons and Frisians undertook from the same shores. Dr. Bense has marshalled the facts of this flow of immigration in an imposing array, from the Conquest down to the end of the seventeenth century, conscientiously referring the reader for each statement to the source of his information.

Since this book, however, is only part of a larger whole, to which it serves as an introduction, the reviewer must ask himself the question what bearing Dr. Bense's survey of Anglo-Dutch relations has on the study of Dutch loan-words in English. Dr. Bense's reason for excluding the Old English period from his investigation is given in these words: "As I was aware that, owing to the close affinity of English to Low Dutch, and especially for lack of evidence, it would be impossible to prove that Low Dutch words passed into Old English, I carefully excluded all words which appeared to have been recorded before the twelfth century." If that is true—and no student of Germanic philology will deny it—it must be equally impossible to prove that Middle English words of supposed Low Dutch origin are not part of the Old English literature, which, in its poetry, employs an artificial diction and, in its prose, is strongly influenced by Latin models. The real wealth of Anglo-Saxon speech is not revealed before the Middle English period, and though Low Dutch has, no doubt, added to that wealth, it seems hazardous to attribute to it so large a contribution as this elaborate introduction seems to imply. The reviewer must withhold a definite judgment on this aspect of Dr. Bense's work until his Dictionary of Low Dutch words in English has come from the press.

A. J. BARNOUW.

The Early English County Court. By William Alfred Morris. [University of California Publications in History, vol. 14, no. 2.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1926, pp. x, 89-230, \$1.75.) This monograph of 58 pages of text gives a better rounded view of the thirteenth-century county court than Stubbs's treatment of it in relation to Parliament or Maitland's incomplete statement of its legal side. Stress is laid on the less-known features: its criminal jurisdiction and extensive

amercements, its ordaining impulse controlled by the justices, its use as the chief local agent of administrative publicity. Sections touching the vital matters of the judgment-finding power and jurisdiction in civil pleas largely confirm orthodox views. Throughout, there is due emphasis upon the shiremate's "actual and potential democracy" and the belief that recent recognition of some attendance of the lower classes (though "reeve and four men" are still in considerable mystery) should bring corresponding recognition of its importance in "the political education of Englishmen". As these more democratic traits, however, especially the "commingling" or "co-operation" of high and low classes, are mainly demonstrable after the Conquest, it seems risky to regard them as inherent, as showing the court in a special sense the "cradle of Anglo-Saxon self-rule". Were not shire court and all other agencies being adapted to the post-Conquest royal policy of checking officials and serving royal interests by the use—in juries and in every conceivable way—of the non-official many, making their political education a by-product of the medieval English king's notion of the best way to govern? There was hardly, in 1254 (pp. 141, 142), "a more general application of the procedure and principles of 1226" (rather, 1227), as an examination of the summonses (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, II. 212, 213) proves; nor can it be shown that the elected knights were "to appear in parliament" in the latter year in any other sense than in the former. Again appears (p. 141) the old error of the four discreet "men" from each county in 1213. Part II. consists of 82 pages of illustrative documents not before printed, including the unique county-court roll of Cornwall for 1333.

A. B. WHITE.

Louis de Chalon, Prince d'Orange, Seigneur d'Orbe, Échallens, Grandson, 1390-1463. Par Frédéric Barbey. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 396, 10 fr.) Slowly, through the exploration of local archives, we are coming to understand better the later Middle Ages, and students of that period will welcome this present scholarly work as an important contribution to that understanding. The Archives du Doubs, the neighboring departmental and municipal archives, the collections at Paris, Vienna, and Prague provided the author with a great many manuscripts *inédits* bearing upon his subject. A quarter of his book is given to documents either summarized or in full. In the absence of chronicles, the text is based very largely upon this unpublished material, providing, consequently, considerable new information in regard to a man, a personage in his own time, whose career in many ways illustrates feudalism in decline. In this respect M. Barbey's study supplements the work of Dognon, Flourac, Fournier, and Quicherat.

The life of this first of the Burgundian vassals enables us to see the Hundred Years War from the feudal point of view. For him it was primarily a French partizan struggle in which he did his duty by his Burgundian overlord, and sought opportunity for local aggrandizement

at the expense of his neighbor and suzerain, the Dauphin, whom apparently he hoped to replace as ruler of Dauphiné. But when Philip the Good made alliance with the English, the Prince of Orange refused to support the compact, although continuing actively in the duke's service. Willing as he was to support Burgundy against Charles VII., he was also willing to act as vicar for the Emperor Sigismund contrary to the ducal interests in Franche Comté.

Even more important than its contribution to political history is the impression of decaying feudalism which this biography gives. In many ways a baronial career in the fifteenth century seems similar to one in the thirteenth; more than twenty years of intermittent, local campaigning, a youthful pilgrimage to the Holy Land (apparently in 1415 a trip of about twenty weeks), persistent efforts to enlarge his holdings by marriages, lawsuits, or force, a pious foundation in penance for sacrilege in war, nearly thirty years of feudal administration. Yet at the end we get a picture of a vigorous, ambitious, avaricious old man whose long life, despite his reputation for wealth, leaves an impression of frustration and failure. He is unable to make good his claims to Geneva and Neuchâtel; he is forced to resign the imperial vicariate; because of Duke Philip's jealous suspicion he is omitted from the Order of the Golden Fleece; he is disastrously defeated at Anthon and spends much of his later life recovering the lands lost by that defeat. It would seem as if politics in his time was too big a game to be played independently by the lesser feudal princes.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

The Black Book of Winchester. Edited by W. H. B. Bird, M.A., from a transcript made by F. J. Baigent. (Winchester, Warren and Son Limited, 1925, pp. xx, 241, 12 s. 6 d.) The Black Book of Winchester, once the property of the corporation of Winchester, has wandered from home and is now preserved in the British Museum, where it is known as Additional MS. 6036. It is a folio volume of less than a hundred leaves of vellum and contains, for the most part, records of the proceedings of the corporation of Winchester. It is not, however, an original register. Neither is it a complete record of the proceedings of the corporation, but rather, to judge from appearances, a handy reference-book for the mayor's use. The entries, which range in date from 1266 to 1546 and are written in various hands, are in chronological disorder until the year 1511 is reached, and appear to have been copied into this book from an older Black Book and other sources. The editor is inclined to the opinion that the earlier part of the book was compiled in 1511.

In the past, the records of English towns have furnished us with valuable items of national history. In the present instance, events in the kingdom at large scarcely emerge into view except in the case of a letter under the signet of Henry IV., announcing the collapse of the Earl of Kent's insurrection and cancelling a previous demand for troops. But

the student of municipal institutions will welcome the Black Book of Winchester as a valuable addition to his printed material, although the picture of town life which it reveals is already familiar. We know of old the mayor and the "twenty-four", the bailiffs and other lesser dignitaries, the gild merchant and the craft gilds. We are prepared, too, for Winchester's jealous guarding of its privileges, for its careful regulation of buying and selling within its gates, and for its gallant struggle to keep its streets and watercourses clean and pure in days when sewers were few, when householders, unless forbidden, built pigsties even in High Street, and when not only dead dogs and dead cats but the butcher's leavings too often found their way into the river. Only in the details is the picture novel. What other town records give so delightful a glimpse of the mayor off duty as we get from Winchester's decree that Master Webbe, one of the aldermen, "shall have the little pond of the city term of his life, and that he shall make clean and scour the same pond at his own costs and charges, and Master Mayor for the time being shall fish thereon twice a year, and for his pleasure there to angle at all times"?

At the end of the volume the editor gives a list of the mayors, bailiffs, and recorders of Winchester, so far as their names can be determined, during the period covered by the Black Book, and a brief glossary, as well as excellent indexes of names and matters. In all respects the book is very well edited. And typographically it is a comfort and pleasure to the eye.

CORA L. SCOFIELD.

A Czech Humanist in the Seventeenth Century, Jan Sictor Rokycansky, 1593-1652. By Robert Fitzgibbon Young, M.A. (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1926, pp. 30, 2 s.)

A Bohemian Philosopher at Oxford in the Seventeenth Century: George Ritschel of Deutschkahn, 1616-1693. [Lecture delivered by the same before the Philosophical Union of the Caroline University, Prague, October 29, 1924.] (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1925, pp. 24, 2 s.) These two pamphlets are carefully supplied with critical and explanatory notes. The comparison of the two scholars is interesting. Both are driven from their native land, Bohemia, as a result of the political changes following the battle of White Mountain, both being Protestant in religion and Bohemian patriots in politics. Their reception was friendly enough but not always blessed with a sustaining friendship. Rokycansky has the harder lot. A poet from boyhood, a student after his exile, at Groningen, Heidelberg, and Leiden, his elegiacs stir only a temporary warmth in the princes, lord mayors, and the like to whom they are dedicated. Even the "ultra-Protestant" régime of Cromwell does him little good apparently because he vainly tries to get help in order to return to Holland. On the other hand, Ritschel, the student of metaphysics, philosophy, and theology, finding himself at home in the Anglican Communion, secures a "living" both for himself and for his son after him, while the great Leibnitz praises his scientific attainments.

Two-thirds of the first pamphlet is filled with the list of Jan Sictor's works, published at Prague, later at Groningen and London. References to the Bohemian revolt, to the Prince of the Palatinate, and to the foreign trade of the city companies (London) appear most important.

The appendix for the second study contains full bibliographical notes and chapter-titles for Ritschel's works on metaphysics and ceremonies of the Anglican Church as well as his epitaph and Leibnitz's famous reference to Ritschel's learning.

There are a number of typographical errors which the author has himself noted in the amended copy. Another may be noted: 27 March 1637 was not the *fourteenth* anniversary of Charles I.'s accession.

Together the two pamphlets do open little windows, looking through which we may get brief glimpses into the life of the seventeenth century.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

The Siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683 by Jeremias Cacavelas. Edited by F. H. Marshall, M.A., Reader in Classics in the University of London. (Cambridge, University Press, 1925, pp. xxiii, 185, 10 s.) An English version of an unpublished translation of a printed original is something of a novelty, yet useful, despite the fact, which the editor frankly admits (p. v), that there has been no critical comparison of the Greek translation here published with the Italian original at Venice. He has, however, drawn some quite justifiable conclusions as to the prejudices and objects of the *Due Amici*, authors of the Italian original. The Greek version and the English translation are printed opposite each other, page for page, with folios marked, a useful arrangement, skillfully done. References and notes afford a wide survey of the contemporary accounts. The original Italian was used by various historians. That this Greek text was produced in Bucharest is an implication that that city was become a centre of Greek culture.

The narrative is diffuse and somewhat duplicative. Yet the story unfolds itself well. At a few points clearness is sacrificed slightly for chronological order. The first siege of Vienna (1529), however, began on September 26, not some two weeks earlier as implied (p. 125 and note). Other errors are referred to by the editor (pp. xx-xxi, 45 n., 71 n., etc.). The story of the blowing-up of Szigeth (p. 27) sounds suspiciously like that of 1566.

The language of the English translation is exceedingly well chosen, in keeping with the times of the original without being archaic.

Besides an index, two glossaries form interesting, though brief linguistic studies of historical value: one giving modern Greek terms unfamiliar to the student; the other, Turkish, Slavic, Ruman, and other foreign words found in the Greek manuscript. The appendix contains an inscription to Constantine Brancovano with date of the Greek translation, and also of its completion, with the amount paid for it. The Sketch Plan of Vienna, taken from *Two Sieges of Vienna by the Turks* (London, 1847),

is of great help. The Tekeli letter to the Grand Vizier was worth re-printing; it assists the text in revealing curious political conditions in Hungary.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

A Tour in Ireland, with General Observations on the Present State of that Kingdom made in the Years 1776, 1777, and 1778. By Arthur Young. Edited by Constantia Maxwell, M.A., Lecturer in Modern History in Trinity College, Dublin. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1925, pp. xxii, 244, 7 s. 6 d.) Miss Maxwell's edition of Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland* is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of social and economic conditions in eighteenth-century Ireland. Arthur Young was in Ireland for about six months in 1776 and 1777. He visited all parts of the country for the purpose of observing agricultural conditions. He kept a copious day-to-day Secret Journal which was unfortunately stolen, and also notes. Part I. of this volume is an expansion of these notes supplemented by information obtained through residence in Cork as administrative agent for Lord Kingsborough's estate. It is quite evident that conclusions arrived at by an agriculturist of European repute may be accepted as giving a veracious picture of social and economic conditions in Ireland in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Young draws comparisons which cover a period of about twenty years. With the exception of a long description of the linen industry, there is but little comment on trade and commerce. The author is interested in the welfare of the very poor and records in some detail living conditions of the cottier class. There is no evidence of an emaciated peasantry. The survival, however, of a semi-feudal economic serfdom was detrimental to self-respect and to agricultural development. It is unfortunate that a bias in favor of agricultural information left untouched all aspects of political history in the decade which preceded the obtaining of legislative independence. Part II. is a series of general observations and conclusions.

Miss Maxwell's editorial preface contains a comprehensive summary of topics treated of in the text. In the pages of Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland* we get not only eighteenth-century social history but an invaluable portrayal of the background of the agricultural cataclysm of the nineteenth century.

SUSAN M. LOUGH.

Autour de Mirabeau. Par Dauphin Meunier. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 269, 20 fr.) One might apply to M. Dauphin Meunier an expression that I once heard an old gentleman of the Ile de Ré use, in speaking of a friend at Saintes; he declared that he was "énormément instruit" touching all matters relating to Mirabeau's life at Saintes. When M. Barthou, in the preface to the volume under review, stated that "no one since Lucas de Montigny, at the same time the putative and the adopted son of Mirabeau, no one, not even M. de Loménie, had, to the same degree as M.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXXII.—11.

Dauphin Meunier, lived in intimate relations with Mirabeau", he was guilty of no exaggeration. Concerning Mirabeau, Meunier "sait tout et il sait le reste". A close friend of the last of the Montignys, all the Mirabeau material passed through his hands and he studied it *con amore* and critically. The present volume is the fourth Meunier has published. His first appeared in 1903, *Lettres à Julie*, letters written by Mirabeau from the donjon of Vincennes to Julie Dauvers; in 1908, appeared the definitive life of Mirabeau's wife, the *Comtesse de Mirabeau*, and in 1914 the life of Mirabeau's notorious sister, *Louise de Mirabeau*. All three were crowned by the French Academy. The present volume contains nine studies dealing with Mirabeau and with the setting of his life, and utilizes manuscript material not hitherto used. The longest studies, "Au Château de Vincennes", and "Un Ménage de Poètes au XVIII^e Siècle", treat largely of the background of Mirabeau's life; another study disposes of the myth of "Mirabeau Brigand"; a chapter based upon the unpublished letters of the marquis gives us a pathetic picture of the last year of his life; another study deals with the relation of Mirabeau to the attempt to provide Frederick William II. of Prussia with a French mistress; the "Lettres Inédites de Mirabeau" were written by Mirabeau to his secretary, M. de Combs, during the elections in Provence; "Mirabeau vu par son Valet de Chambre" is a charming study of Legrain, Mirabeau's original valet, based upon Legrain's memoirs. A final chapter, "Le Premier Pas de la Terreur", treats of the debates at the Jacobin Club in February, 1791—especially February 28—using detailed accounts found among the Mirabeau manuscripts, the records of an eye-witness. The volume is a collection of brilliant studies based on a thorough knowledge of the evidence.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Recueil de Documents Internationaux relatifs à l'Histoire Économique de 1814 à 1924. Par N. W. Posthumus, Professeur d'Histoire Économique, Université d'Amsterdam. Tome I. *Traité Collectifs, Pays-Bas, France, Allemagne.* (Amsterdam, Swets and Zeitlinger, 1925, pp. 860.) The first section of this volume, making about one-eighth of the whole, comprises the acts of the Congress of Vienna regarding the navigation of international rivers and the abolition of the slave-trade, the conventions of 1831 and 1868 on the navigation of the Rhine, the economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, and the Geneva Protocol of October 1924.

The sections devoted to the economic history of the individual countries are more extensive and much more varied in contents. Some sixty documents, occupying altogether nearly half the pages of the volume, illustrate the history of the Netherlands from the Napoleonic period (decree of 1813 regarding convoys) to the statement of the Dutch minister of finance, 1925, on the return to the gold standard. Here the student will find original material illustrating the history of Dutch money and banking, public finance, foreign trade and commercial policy, colonial policy (Van den Bosch on the culture system, 1864), the introduction of steam engines and railroads, the labor movement.

The last two sections, covering the economic history of France and Germany, are of similar character, but give more space to documents in the field of commercial policy, and relatively less to those illustrating other subjects.

All of the documents in the volume have been previously published, and a few are readily accessible in such collections as those of De Martens and Hertslet. For the text of most of them the student must have recourse to the official publications of the various governments, and these are, of course, available only in large libraries. The editor has therefore done a service in collecting and republishing the material. The extracts from customs tariffs of different periods and of different countries, to pick out only one element but an important one in the contents of the volume, are admirable sources in which to study at first-hand the changes in the course of European commercial policy during the nineteenth century. In the case of France, for example, the editor prints significant parts of the tariff of 1826, the Cobden Treaty of 1860 and supplementary conventions, the Belgian commercial treaty of 1861, the law of 1888 significant in its relation to the Franco-Italian tariff war, the tariffs of 1892 and 1910. The section on Germany supplies material illustrating the development of the Zollverein, part of the tariff of 1873, with later laws and treaties down to the tariff act of 1925.

The editor has contented himself with reprinting, in whole or in part, the original documents. He has not added any notes of his own, and, indeed, has not been as generous as could be desired in bibliographical information regarding the sources on which he has drawn; titles are much abbreviated and the date and place of publication are regularly omitted. Documents are printed in the language of the original, with preference given to French over English, and a large part of the volume is available only to those who read Dutch.

CLIVE DAY.

À Travers la République. Par Louis Andrieux. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 358, 25 fr.) Until defeated at the election of May 11, 1924, the author of these always interesting and sometimes important reminiscences had been for many years the *doyen* of the Chamber of Deputies. As his public career began in the later years of the Second Empire, his recollections probably cover a longer period than could be contributed by any of his surviving colleagues except Clemenceau, who threatens, it is reported, to punish his enemies and disappoint his friends by not writing any memoirs.

Though never a political figure of the first order, M. Andrieux played several parts of sufficient importance to give his recollections distinct value for the historian. When the news of Sedan arrived at Lyons, he, as a lawyer of thirty, suddenly exchanged the rôle of political prisoner for a press offense for that of *procureur de la république*. In the latter

capacity, he had an opportunity to see at close range the difficulties which Challemel-Lacour, as prefect, experienced in his successful effort to prevent Lyons from falling under the control of elements similar to those which at Paris brought on the Commune of 1871. Elected a deputy in 1876, he was in 1879-1881 prefect of police at Paris, and in 1882 at the head of the commission whose adverse report brought about the overthrow of the Gambetta grand ministry. Upon all these matters the recollections of M. Andrieux either bring valuable information or illustrate a point of view of considerable importance. From them one can get a vivid impression of the activities of the prefect of police at Paris in the early 'eighties as a gatherer of information in many places and for many purposes. London, Berlin, Italy, and Tunis were among the places to which M. Andrieux extended his activity. One can also get a better comprehension of the reason why the deputies ventured to revolt against the man who a few weeks before had been popularly believed to be all-powerful.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Laerde Brev fraa og til P. A. Munch. Utgjevne av det Kongelige Frederiks Universitet ved Gustav Indrebö og Oluf Kolsrud. Fyrste Bandet, 1832-1850. (Oslo, H. Aschehoug and Company, 1924, 30 kr.) The publication of the letters to and from the poly-historian, P. A. Munch, is an event of considerable importance in the cultural history of the Scandinavian North. Born in 1810, before the separation of Norway from Denmark, Munch grew up under the Bernadotte dynasty, in an era of reconstruction and of re-orientation. Though loyal to the new union, his love for the Danish people and culture never ceased. An indefatigable worker, expert in Old Norse language and literature, legal history, runic investigation, cartography, early migrations, and folklore, Munch was no mere cloistered scholar. This volume reveals what is not generally realized outside of the Scandinavian lands, the depth of the sympathy that rose from Norwegians and Swedes in behalf of the Danes in their struggle with Prussia in 1848. Munch promoted pro-Danish mass meetings, circulated bold petitions to a timid government, and even urged his English scholar-friends to stir the Palmerston government to active intervention. Anxious to promote cultural relations among the three northern neighbors, he was unalterably opposed to any Pan-Scandinavianism that aimed at a dynastic union. He expressed to the German philologist Jacob Grimm his opinion that the Slesvig question might best be settled by the drawing of a linguistic boundary between Denmark and the German states, a solution used in 1919 that might have saved Denmark the humiliation of 1864.

In the field of historiography, he was the greatest figure before Sars. Devotion to Norway's "great tradition" pervades his scholarly efforts. His first important work, done in conjunction with Rudolph Keyser, was a definitive edition of Norway's ancient laws. He lectured on Norwegian history at the university, where he became professor in 1841. With amazing industry, he edited numerous Norwegian classics, the Elder

Edda, the *Speculum Regale*, with the aid of Unger and Keyser, and many sagas. Among the latter, he published a collection that threw light on Scandinavian influence on and relations with Russia (1849). *Det Old-Norske og Norrönsprogets Grammatik* (1847) and *Forn-Svenskans och Forn-Norskans Språkbygnad* (1849) were the first scientific grammars for the serious study of the historical literature of the medieval North. That feverish interest in local dialects that is characteristic of Norway to-day was shared by Munch. In a letter to Jacob Grimm written on June 25, 1847, he refers to the untapped linguistic sources in the remote mountain valleys, and the importance of "the study of our ancient language" (p. 210).

This is the initial volume of a series of three. When completed, this work will present a mine of valuable materials illustrating the development of Norway's culture in the nineteenth century. The care with which the present work is edited quite outweighs any inconvenience that may be caused the uninitiated reader who attempts to decipher the prefatory remarks of the editors, done in a "new Norwegian" that bears some resemblance to Old Norse.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

Travels in India. By Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. Translated from the original French edition of 1676 by V. Ball, C.B., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S.; second edition, edited by William Crooke, C.I.E. (London, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. xc, 335; xv, 399, 18 s.) This new edition of a portion of Tavernier's famous *Six Voyages* appears at a time made auspicious by wide speculation concerning the future of India and by something like a concerted effort to reduce to definite outlines its long and confused history. For the period of the decline and fall of the Mogul Empire Tavernier's writings form an invaluable source.

Dr. Valentine Ball's first edition of the *Travels*, published in 1889, was distinguished above earlier English versions of the original by the accuracy and style of his translation from the French and by his authoritative comments on the text. The edition of 1889 together with extensive notes collected later form the basis of the present edition, although the editor, the late William Crooke, has considerably modernized and improved upon the work of his predecessor in many places.

The comments on volume I. still distinctly show in this, as in the earlier, edition the influence of Colonel Sir Henry Yule. Perhaps the most valuable additions are the extensive foot-note citations of recent works dealing with the human geography and institutions of India and other parts of the Orient. The enlisting of experts in many fields for the testing of various passages in the original text has aided materially in elucidating Tavernier's statements and in establishing his veracity. The most scholarly portion of the present edition is the appendix covering the history of the Kohinoor diamond.

Occasionally there is unnecessary repetition in foot-notes. The later chapters of volume II., compassing Tavernier's travels in the East Indies and his return to Europe, are less thoroughly annotated than the earlier portions dealing with his itineraries and trading ventures in India, but they are also less significant. A few slips have occurred, as in dates given in I. xxxii, I, 23, and II. 320, note I, but errors of any kind are few.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

India. By Sir Valentine Chirol. [The Modern World, edited by the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P.] (London, E. Benn; New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926, pp. vii, 352, 15 s.) The world-importance of India and the rapid growth of new and delicate problems in the administration of that country since the war have brought forth many writers of late. Most of these have been either apologists for or hostile critics of the British *raj*. Sir Valentine Chirol is consciously neither. His purpose in this book is to present historically to thoughtful readers an explanation of the new India, and in carrying out his purpose he has produced a noteworthy book, once again distinguishing himself as a careful student and an able historian.

The analysis of a changing India in a much altered world is thorough. With fine choice of words, sometimes marred by involved sentence-structure, the historical basis of present-day India is built up. The origin of caste, the rule of the East India Company, the Mutiny, the introduction of Western education, national congresses, industrialization, the "cosmic earthquake" of the Great War, and other factors are placed in well-ordered perspective. The interpretation of the very recent "flight from *swaraj*", due to the presence of fundamental feuds and jealousies among Indian castes and communities, as marking the end of one historic phase and the beginning of a new era in the contact of East and West, gives the book a unity and completeness lacking in most works dealing with current problems.

The author disclaims any intention of speculating as to the future or of propounding solutions "of one of the most formidable complex problems with which British statesmanship can be confronted". Yet where his delineation of modern India has called for criticism either of British or of Indian policies, he has not only unhesitatingly applied the rod but has also given his own views as to practicable lines of procedure, and this with singular perception, courage, and dispassionateness.

On the whole, the author is optimistic as to the future of India, in which he can conceive of the maintenance of the British *raj* along with the development of a real Indian nationality based on popular elementary education. Few in Western countries who feel sympathy with the idea that foreign domination of diverse peoples may be justified by material benefits conferred will take issue with his thesis. But with all of its sincerity, the book will, for this reason, have difficulty in finding friends

among the Indian intellectuals fully committed to *swaraj*, though it should exercise a salutary influence on the extremists of both great races in India.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

The American Revolution considered as a Social Movement. By J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. [Lectures delivered in November 1925 on the Louis Clark Vanuxem Foundation.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1926, pp. 158, \$1.50.) In these lectures Dr. Jameson addresses himself to a much-neglected aspect of the Revolution, its social implications and consequences, and his volume is intended primarily as an incitement to further study in this wide field. We may hope that the Sesquicentennial celebrations, like the Centennial, will stimulate both popular and expert interest in the Revolution. Much of this interest, as Dr. Jameson says, might profitably be channelled into a consideration of the effects of the upheaval upon landholding and settlement, industry and commerce, slavery and philanthropy, education and intellectual outlook. To those attracted by such a subject these lectures are an illuminating introduction and guide. It need not be said that the scholarship is impeccable, the style is polished, and that, above all, the outlook is broad and thoughtful.

Many of the social effects of the Revolution lie upon the surface: the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the disintegration of great landed estates and the extension of small holdings, the broadening of suffrage, the limitation of slavery, the achievement of greater religious liberty, the stimulation of interest in politics and military affairs, and so on. All are treated. But in a work of such small compass Dr. Jameson is rightly more intent upon tracing causes and effects than upon a mere detailed and chronological statement of facts. The author has a keen eye for relationships which might easily be neglected, and it is this which gives the closely compacted chapters their chief interest. It is only to be wished that there were sometimes a clearer distinction between the effects of the conflict itself, and of the wider liberty which that conflict won. As instances of the numerous social phenomena, sometimes rather obscure, which Dr. Jameson sets in their proper places, we may mention duelling, which was almost unknown before the war and frequent afterwards; the production of important state histories, like Belknap's, Ramsay's, and Trumbull's, an evidence of the enhanced state pride of the day; and the rise of the American industrial inventor, called forward by the wartime demand for manufactures. Repeatedly he suggests striking and convincing relationships. For example, he points out that the tendency of American courts to hold bad laws unconstitutional grew up at a time when most legislatures were filled with radicals and hotheads, while the lawyers and judges were more moderate. He remarks that the state stay laws in the hard times after the Revolution—we should have said the public feeling

behind the stay laws—had much to do with the more humane attitude toward imprisonment for debt.

The volume is remarkably comprehensive for its size, and the author's use of his space is so admirable that one hesitates to suggest topics (for example, the effect of the campaigning upon the general mobility of population) which might have been treated. In none of his four chapters—the Status of Persons; the Land; Industry and Commerce; and Thought and Feeling—does he forget how easy is the *post-hoc-propter-hoc* fallacy. The America of 1790 would have been vastly different from the America of 1770 without a Revolution. The chief general criticism that may be given the volume is its excessive brightness of tone. Dr. Jameson concerns himself almost wholly with beneficial changes, and passes rapidly over the formidable list of changes for the worse—the social disorganization, the lowered morals, the vulgarization, the injury to education and general culture, the other shocks to social health—which the six years of active war inevitably produced. But this may be defended on the ground that the idea held in view throughout is that of progress. The book is a timely and permanently valuable introduction to a field that ought soon to receive much more attention.

ALLAN NEVINS.

The Liberty Bell, its History and Significance. By Victor Rosewater. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1926, pp. 246, \$1.75.) This interesting volume is no doubt a by-product of Mr. Rosewater's experience as head of publicity for the Sesquicentennial at Philadelphia in its earlier stages. On first thought the average reader might wonder how one could make nearly two hundred and fifty pages out of even a Liberty Bell without padding liberally. The author, however, lures him into a new conception of a treasured relic that has become the "Emblem of Liberty" to all the world, and as such has a romantic career probably unequalled except by that of the Cross.

With all of Mr. Rosewater's excellent research, he might have added, at the beginning, another chapter quite as striking as the rest. He evidently did not know that this bell became the voice of a State House, which itself is a monument to over a half-century of Pennsylvania's struggle for liberty under law, led by that great commoner, David Lloyd, under whose last speakership of the assembly it was ordered built—the first State House ever built in the colony; that it was as though Lloyd and his people were determined to fully establish the colony's liberty in constitution and law before they should build it a home or provide for it a bell to make those ideas vocal.

The author begins with the first provision for a tower for the bell in 1741—over a dozen years after the Lloydian assembly ordered the famous State House; and traces the progress from the actual ordering of the bell ten years later, on October 16, 1751, through its various experiences in being recast and being replaced by a new one, both with Isaac

Norris's prophetic choice of the Biblical injunction to "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof", as its inscription. This chapter on the Casting of the Bell carefully traces the great relic down to the opening of the Revolution.

In the remaining eight chapters is Mr. Rosewater's characteristic presentation under the titles—Proclaiming Liberty, the Saving of the Bell, the Crack in the Bell, the Legends of the Bell, the Bell become a Relic, the Bell as it is, the Travels of the Bell, and the Bell in Picture, Prose, and Poetry. Even his introduction as the first chapter contributes to it under the title the Fascination of the Bell.

Of necessity the historical background of the various events in which the bell figured is carefully, thoughtfully, and picturesquely drawn, especially in those related to the Declaration of Independence which gave the unique relic its name. His discriminating account of the conflicting statements about the signing of that immortal instrument illustrates his judicial treatment, and is satisfactory even to one who believes the original manuscript was signed on July 4, although the more perfectly engrossed parchment signatures are all that have come down to us. His quotation of original testimony is abundant and happily selected, but one wishes he would use quotation marks more uniformly and so avoid occasional confusion.

BURTON ALVA KONKLE.

The Slave Trade, Slavery, and Color. By Theodore D. Jervey. (Columbia, S. C., State Company, 1925, pp. vi, 344, \$2.50.) In the early pages of this book the slave-trade is dealt with as a matter of politics and social importance, whereupon the whole subject is virtually dismissed. The remainder of the first half of the book is in main substance a repetition of the author's *Robert Y. Hayne and his Times*, with an intensified championship of Hayne as against the "Upas tree" Calhoun. The latter half sketches negro affairs and opinion in the United States from the Reconstruction period to the present time. Though bristling with quoted matter, it contains interesting bits of the author's own philosophy—for example, congratulating the South upon the abolition of slavery and likewise upon the latter-day northward migration of negroes, and insisting that race relations are not a subject proper for federal control. The book is regrettably hard to use, for it has no table of contents, no chapter titles, no index, and no readily apparent sequence of themes. It has fairly frequent foot-note citations, but a number of these are of a form typified by the following from page 92: "Pamphlet, C. L. S. Vol. VIII. Art. 7, p. 6." The Charleston Library Society, which "C. L. S." is doubtless intended to designate, is well worth visiting; but not every serious reader will find it feasible to go thither to ascertain the author and title of the seventh pamphlet in the eighth volume of an unspecified series on its shelves. Again, a personal unhappiness comes from a foot-note on page

78, for it seems to attribute to the present reviewer an assertion which he did not make.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

Impressment of American Seamen. By James Fulton Zimmerman, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CXVIII., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1925, pp. 279, \$3.00.) This study of the impressment controversy is written almost entirely from the printed sources and from long-accessible manuscripts in the State Department at Washington. As might be expected from this fact, the study adds little really new to our knowledge of the subject. The most useful chapters are those on the early history of impressment (prior to 1803) and on the diplomatic history of impressment from 1815 down to 1842. It may be questioned whether it was worth while to tell in such detail the history of the crucial years of the controversy (1803 to 1812), especially since the details presented do practically nothing to alter the conventional view of the question.

The general course of the controversy and the principles maintained by the parties thereto being pretty well known, one turns to a new study of impressment hoping to find answers to some of the following questions: How really valuable was the practice of impressment to the British navy? Were commercial interests in England favorable to the practice as a means of crippling American rivals? How many sailors were impressed from American ships, and of these how many were American citizens? The first two of these questions could be answered only from British sources, which Dr. Zimmerman has not used, and the third he, like some previous writers, regards as insoluble.

There is a very brief index and no bibliography. Some of the footnote references betray carelessness. On page 63, note 3, is a reference to "*Pickering Papers*, xxxvi". Presumably this means the Pickering MSS. owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, but the reader is left in doubt whether this is a manuscript or printed source; nor is he informed whether the "*MS. Monroe Papers*" (page 131, note 1) and the "*Monroe Papers*" (page 137, note 1) are from the collection in the Library of Congress, from that in the New York Public Library, or from still another repository.

Indications are that Dr. Zimmerman has not used the Monroe Papers in the New York Public Library. Had he done so, he might have found some interesting sidelights on the impressment question. For example, in the late summer and early fall of 1812, when Monroe and Madison were deciding to continue the war over impressment as the sole issue, Monroe was receiving from the West warnings that if Madison accepted the proposed armistice he would probably lose the West in the approaching presidential election. And the West was less interested in impressment than in the conquest of Canada.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

Andrew Jackson's Campaign against the British, or the Mississippi Territory in the War of 1812. By Mrs. Dunbar Rowland. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xv, 424, \$3.50.) Mrs. Rowland has presented in a printed book a vast deal of hitherto inaccessible documents, some of them from old and rare books, and most of them manuscript papers on file with the Mississippi Historical Society. Her subject is a dual one, detailing the campaigns of Andrew Jackson of Tennessee against the Creek Indians in 1813 and 1814, and against the British at Pensacola and New Orleans, and also presenting in full elaboration the precise amount of military aid given in these operations by the Mississippi Territory. As an available source of data, the volume is somewhat useful, though its author is led slightly astray by personalities and does not always apportion space adequately. Four pages are devoted to an isolated and minor, though heroic, stunt performed by four men in a canoe against eleven Indians, and but a page and a half to the opening clash of the Creek campaign at Tallussahatchie, in 1813, without clear explanation of the relations between Jackson's own forces and those of the southern district. Frequent digressions to explain personalities or Indian tribes are sketchy and almost too apparently summarized from unidentifiable previous publications. The value of the book is also lowered by the entire absence of any map, an absolute essential in the reading of any account of a military campaign, certainly of any campaign dealing with obscure places and scattered positions and areas.

ELBRIDGE COLBY.

The Missouri Compromise and Presidential Politics, 1820-1825, from the Letters of William Plumer, jr. Edited by Everett Somerville Brown, Ph.D. [Publications of the Missouri Historical Society.] (St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society, 1926, pp. xi, 155, \$3.00.) Among the volumes most eagerly welcomed by students of history are those containing the private letters of men who have been active in affairs of state. Those who are professionally interested in history have long realized the value of such material, and recently it has become clear that the interested circle has been materially widened by the addition of many from among the general reading public.

The first forty-two pages of the text of this volume contain eighteen letters written by William Plumer, jr., to his father, Senator William Plumer, mainly about the Missouri compromise proposals; the letters are dated from January 30, 1820, to February 26, 1821. The reader may well sense the intense bitterness of feeling which prevailed among members of Congress at the time and the extent to which a crisis existed. Scattered through these pages the reader will find many delightful characterizations of men active in the debates and the political manoeuvring, and a reflection of much of the thought then current on slavery, sectionalism, and the accompanying constitutional problems.

Part II., the larger section of the volume, containing nearly one hundred pages, is devoted to a different subject—presidential politics from April, 1820, to March, 1825. In this section are 61 letters from William Plumer, jr., to his father, three from father to son, two from the son to Salma Hale of New Hampshire, and one each from Hale, Charles Rich of Vermont, Isaac Hill, and John Quincy Adams. These letters tell an astounding story of “the great game of politics” as played in those years. The new light which these letters throw upon that long and famous political battle was previously exploited by the editor of the volume in his article on “The Presidential Election of 1824–1825” in the *Political Science Quarterly*, XL. 384–403. Those readers whose interest may have been intrigued by this article now have access to the main body of material on which it was based.

Surely any one who would make any serious effort to understand either one of the two main subjects dealt with in these letters will have to consult this volume. The preface contains a useful sketch of William Plumer, jr., and throughout the volume the editor has furnished helpful foot-notes. The editing is well done, there is a useful index, and the format is attractive. Students of American history owe a debt of gratitude to the editor and to the publishers for devoting the time and the money necessary to make this material, even though limited in amount and character, available to the craft at large.

C. S. BOUCHER.

Gold of Ophir. By Sydney Greenbie and Marjorie Greenbie. (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1925, pp. xix, 330, \$4.00.) This is a handsome volume in which the authors, with no little industry, have brought together many of the outstanding incidents of the early trade between our Atlantic ports and the Far East. It is more to be commended for its literary elegance than for its historical contribution. But the authors attach a significance to their work which the product fails to justify. “This is”, we are told, “a book of historical importance in the study of American development, revealing, for the first time, the astounding fact that it was the wealth of the Indies (China) that lured America round the Horn, and across the continent in covered wagons and gave the initial impetus to the growth of this nation.” And this sentence, which will intrigue every student of the Westward Movement, is typical of the general treatment, for there is a tendency to turn the calcium only upon certain parts of the stage, leaving out of the picture many elements which go to make up the real ensemble. Thus, we are further told: “In the true sense of the word, then, the purchase of Louisiana was not prompted by aggrandizement or imperialism. . . . The one thing that gives it its *raison d'être* is the China trade and the outlet on the Pacific for it.” And again: “The Monroe Doctrine, so-called, while aiming to prevent the dismemberment of South America by the Holy Alliance, was first and

foremost the last thrust in the direction of the Pacific (and the China trade)."

The first half of the volume deals with the trade of the Atlantic ports with China, India, the South Seas, and our own Northwest. Many interesting items about ships and commodities, skippers and merchant princes, are here garnered from less accessible publications. The second half, although entitled *Westward by Land*, brings some material to support the authors' thesis, but also has sketchy chapters on the gold rush to California, the capitulation of China, and the opening of Japan. The two concluding chapters indicate the influence of contact with the East upon the early poets and prose writers of our Atlantic seaboard. To retell the story of these brave days was well worth while, but in *Gold of Ophir* the reader will find an impressionistic rather than a well-reasoned account of the influence of the East and its golden commerce upon the early life and development of the United States.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

A Short History of American Railways, covering Ten Decades. By Slason Thompson. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1925, pp. 473, \$2.00.) While the efficiency of present-day transportation facilities is appreciated by the general public, only a small proportion of us understand or grasp the true economic significance of our railways. Only those who have traced the development of our present transportation systems can fully appraise the contribution of the railways to the present era of prosperity and comfort.

For those who require or desire a working knowledge of the past of our railways Mr. Slason Thompson has prepared this brief and sketchy railroad history. The work is intended to cover the outstanding features in the history of our carriers, with no attempt at exhaustive treatment. Mr. Thompson has accumulated an imposing array of facts and figures, as well as many illustrations, which he has condensed into an easy narrative.

Beginning with a short survey of the methods and difficulties of transportation before the introduction of the iron horse, the author divides the hundred years, more or less, of American railway development into ten decades beginning with 1830. In the first decade we see the beginning of construction, with its many troubles and follies. Emerging from the disastrous panic of 1837, somewhat battered but still looking forward, the railway crosses the Alleghenies during the second decade and moves on towards the Mississippi River. The fourth decade marks the era of the Civil War and the Reconstruction period.

With the 'seventies large-scale construction starts anew with the Pacific coast as the goal. During the next decade unrestricted expansion reaches its height and federal regulation begins. The opening of the present century finds the carriers no longer free agents, for regulation has gradually gathered the reins into its own hands.

To the next decade falls the Great War and the railways pass under government control. The beginning of the final decade of this first century of railroad operation sees the roads returned to private operation under somewhat more constructive regulation. The book closes with short biographical sketches of our principal railway executives.

The treatment of the material is somewhat elementary, and much of it is inadequate. The author writes interestingly and has a keen sense of the dramatic, but this characteristic at times overwhelms his perspective. His book will disappoint the economic historian, but as a collection of incidents, brought together with a thin connecting line of chronological fact, it may be regarded as a contribution to the railway history of the United States.

J. H. PARMELEE.

Four American Party Leaders. By Charles Edward Merriam, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago. [Henry Ward Beecher Foundation Lectures delivered at Amherst College.] (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xvi, 104, \$1.50.) To study the problem of leadership in American politics in such manner as to make possible a "more intelligent training of potential leaders" and a "progressively intelligent popular discrimination in the selection and rejection of the personnel of leadership" (p. 101), Professor Merriam has worked out a tentative formula for the study of the careers of individual leaders. This formula, first presented elsewhere, he has reviewed and illustrated in these four lectures. Discussing Lincoln, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Bryan, he has analyzed each in terms of the formula: background, physical and intellectual capacities, possession of six attributes of leadership, *i.e.*, sensitiveness to prevailing tendencies, quickness of perception and action, facility in group combination, ease of personal contact, ability to dramatize, courage. In conclusion he has drawn a comparison of the equipment for leadership which each possessed.

As portraits these lectures have the artistic limitations of any formula, but they are keen analyses. That of Lincoln is the soundest as the data are more completely available. The sketch of Bryan is the most original and informing. Roosevelt and Wilson are described in a commendably judicious manner. As to the formula itself, the number of attributes of leadership considered seems not sufficiently inclusive. Other less desirable but still universal characteristics must be given consideration, characteristics such as disingenuousness of statement and the use of what are generally considered unworthy means to procure ends, worthy and otherwise. In other words we have many leaders but few Lincolns, Roosevelts, Wilsons, and Bryans, and if leadership is studied only in the light of traits socially most desirable, one side of the problem will be lost to view. These lectures are a stimulating invitation and guide to further biographical research which can not fail to illumine our understanding of the

political system which has evolved in the republic, and which we are prone to view in the shadow of tradition rather than in the light of reality.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

Has the Immigrant kept the Faith? A Study of Immigration and Catholic Growth in the United States, 1790-1920. By Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., S.T.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1925, pp. 289, \$2.50.) Dr. Gerald Shaughnessy of the Marist College at the Catholic University has written an excellent study of American immigration as it has affected the growth of the Catholic Church in the United States. And this growth from 30,000 adherents on Bishop Carroll's appointment to the see of Baltimore in 1789, to the twenty million of to-day is an historical fact which can not be overlooked. Yet tremendous as the development has been there is running through Catholic literature, from Bishop England's absurdly inaccurate guess as to losses or church leakage to the current issues of magazines, a ready acceptance of "losses" running into the millions, with a pious attempt at the justification and explanation but no dependence on arduous research or trained consideration of even the lamentably inaccurate statistics of government and dioceses. It is this legend which Father Shaughnessy studies and explodes, much as an Edward Gaylord Bourne might have done, though at the outset he confesses that he accepted the general belief and was rather startled at his own findings. The reader too will be surprised that the loss has been so small when the number of converts is considered, and the logical but somewhat speculative corrections have been made, in immigrant figures, for emigration and the heavy mortality of newcomers, especially Irish, during the starving years of acclimatization. Only in the introductory chapter, before 1790, when the author accepts a loss of 240,000 souls (which presumptive natural increase causes to mount high in succeeding decades) does he rely on speculation corrected by judgment and probably too heavily on writers bent on finding too large an Irish (as distinguished from Scotch-Irish) influx into the colonies. Yet for practical reasons it would not have been advisable to overlook the beginnings and commence with 1790 or 1820. After 1820, he is on more solid ground, and his use of available statistics, with ingenious cross-checking, is highly scientific. Elaborate are the tables of immigration and emigration, of diocesan and non-Catholic estimates of the church's numerical strength, correlated with the statements found in contemporary writings. As far as such a subject, intangible at best, can be completed, Dr. Shaughnessy has done so.

In addition to its value as a study in immigration and in Catholic growth, this book is replete with information concerning the problem of the churches as to retaining their followers and maintaining their relative strength in the nation. Between the lines one sees the assimilative capacities of the Catholic Church in handling the immigrant races and in meeting difficulties partly caused by throwing European peasants into crowded industrial cities. In the supposed huge losses one sees the reason

for European bishops discouraging migration to America, and the later hostility of bishops in our tide-water states to a westward movement of the Irish to the cheap and homestead lands, lest in lack of priestly ministration and lonely isolation they lose the faith.

RICHARD J. PURCELL.

The Tillman Movement in South Carolina. By Francis Butler Simkins, Assistant Professor of History in Emory University. (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1926, pp. ix, 274, \$2.50.) "The passing of the control of the state" from Wade Hampton and the aristocratic group to "Ben Tillman and his farmer friends" is in this study approached through the personality of Tillman, since "Tillman, in his life and work, embodied the spirit of this transfer of leadership". Against a briefly sketched background three chapters present Tillman's early life, during which he farmed and read and occasionally practised politics and became committed to a dominating hatred of the governing groups and a firm belief in the efficacy of education for farmers obtained through political methods. Three succeeding chapters describe his campaigns and his work as governor for two terms. As a campaigner Tillman was invincible because audiences loved his rude language and bold personal attacks in the joint debates to which he forced opponents. As governor he was an honest autocrat, forcing through legislatures the promised agrarian measures and boldly and ruthlessly crushing the opposition, whether of former supporters like McLaurin, or of town militiamen unwilling to protect officers of the law. There is a chapter on the Dispensary, for which Tillman was solely responsible, and one on the Constitutional Convention, which he secured and dominated as the small farmers' spokesman. The chief of the After Effects of Tillmanism is found to be that he had taught the white democracy how to exercise, through joint debates and direct primary, the political power for which Reconstruction had laid the foundations—an education that made possible Bleas and prohibition.

Unstinted praise must be accorded the author for his workmanlike assembling and use of source-materials, for the impartiality of his judgments and the surprising restraint of his deductions, and for the interest which he arouses in the reader and sustains to the end. Within its limits the study will probably prove definitive. The inclusion of photographs adds both value and interest. One must not fail to point out, however, that the confinement of the study to state politics leaves the portrait of the politician incomplete. Likewise, and more important, the meagreness of the economic and social background presented leaves one uncertain as to the nature of the movement. Were there, for example, no important survivals of past connections between "big business" and politicians here as there were in Virginia and Georgia? Was the budding cotton-mill industry inactive as well as silent? The same classes, apparently, that elected Tillman governor also elected "dry" legislatures. Is not this

suggestive of something more fundamental going on than the development of a machinery for democracy? If, as seems likely, the author has given us only a fragment of his study, students of the South of the 'eighties and 'nineties and of popular movements in general will await with interest the completed work.

C. C. PEARSON.

Autobiography of John Ball. Compiled by Kate Ball Towers, Flora Ball Hopkins, and Lucy Ball. (Grand Rapids, Dean-Hicks Company, 1925, pp. xii, 231, \$3.00.) This little volume touches, in an authoritative manner, upon three distinctly frontier types of American life, in addition to exhibiting a cosmopolitan phase. It is divided into four parts or "Books". The first treats of the author's early life, from birth (1794) to 1831. The second describes his trip across the plains and mountains to Oregon, the life there, and the experiences encountered on the return home. The third is an account of "Michigan in the Making", covering the years 1836 to 1857. The last part is varied—reminiscences of the Civil War, Southern travel in Reconstruction days, revisiting New England, travels abroad.

The story of his childhood, youth, and early manhood has in it some of the pathos one feels for the starved life of young souls that aspire but have little fuel with which to feed the flame. This poverty of life was hardly relieved by the grind of college work at Dartmouth, where young boys surpassed our mature hero in those studies which made demands upon the imagination. He read law and began its practice, but apparently always with the feeling of inhibition induced by the conditions under which he was brought up.

Curiosity about the world beyond his immediate horizon saved him. Travel fed the imagination, enlarged his knowledge of men and things, and gave him the assurance which belongs to the man of some unique accomplishment. Mr. Ball was a bigger, better, and more resourceful man for his experiences in the far West and on the Pacific.

His later career was that of a man of consideration among all classes of his home community as well as among strangers encountered on his frequent journeys.

The autobiography is the quaintly written production of an unspoiled character who knows he has a story worth telling and who has developed, probably by much practice in oral narration, an effective, though most unusual mode of telling it in print.

Probably part II., "Across the Plains to Oregon and the Return Home by Cape Horn 1832-1835" (pp. 59-129), will be considered, by most readers, as the essential portion of the book.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market. By Mildred Lucile Hartsough, Ph.D. [Research Publications of the University of Minne-

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXXII.—12.

sota, Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 18.] (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1925, pp. vii, 228, \$2.00.) The introductory chapter of this study deals with the general idea of the metropolitan economic centre and its relation to the tributary area, which, in the case of the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, is the Northwest as far west as the Rocky Mountains. The three succeeding chapters give an historical account of the growth of the Twin Cities, beginning with the fur-trading period and ending with the present.

St. Paul, at the head of steamship navigation from the south, developed distinctly as a trading centre, while its sister city, Minneapolis, at the Falls of St. Anthony, has developed especially as an industrial city, first devoted to lumber and later to flour. The decline of navigation on the Mississippi slowed down the growth of St. Paul, while the rapid expansion of lumbering and wheat-growing in the Northwest accelerated the growth of Minneapolis, and now the population of the latter city leads by a hundred and fifty thousand. The author, mindful of the rivalry between the two cities, is almost painfully careful to make as few comparisons as possible. The book suffers a little in frankness because of this.

In the reviewer's opinion, the best section of the book is the one which deals with the evolution of transportation through the period of the fur trade, of the Red River carts, of the river steamboat navigation, at the height of which there were over a thousand arrivals at St. Paul, and finally of the railways.

The three chapters on financial history include little that would not apply as well to the development of almost any of our large interior cities as to the Twin Cities. The amount of detail devoted to finance, chain banking, and economic crises seems hardly justified.

The final chapter deals with the tributary area of the metropolitan centre, showing especially the resources and economic activities which nourish the business life of the urban centre.

As a whole, the study is distinctly worth while, interesting, and scholarly. It adds one more to our list of economic studies of metropolitan areas, studies which supply material for the use of the historian, the geographer, and the economist. It is an excellent companion to Robinson's *Early Economic Conditions and the Development of Agriculture in Minnesota*, which forms no. 3 in the same series of studies.

R. H. WHITBECK.

Yellowstone Kelly, Memoirs of Luther S. Kelly. Edited by M. M. Quaife. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1926, pp. xii, 268, \$4.00.) Although the editor's estimate that this "story is . . . an important contribution to the history of the western frontier" (p. vi) will possibly bear question, nevertheless Yellowstone Kelly's narrative as told by Mr. Quaife is distinctly above the average run of pioneer and army scout reminiscences.

In the first place, the record deals with a significant period and an interesting area. The fifteen brief years from 1865 to 1880 cover the transition from the army frontier to the settler's frontier. Kelly's services began at Fort Buford as military mail carrier (1868) and ended in 1880 when "the great blank spaces on the map had been filled with trails and wagon routes; [and when] hunters, stockmen, and prospective settlers roamed at will looking for locations" (p. 240). During these years he established an intimate acquaintance with the entire drainage area of the Upper Missouri and its great tributary, the Yellowstone, which he was able to turn to good use in the campaigns against the Sioux and the Nez Percés. In the second place the story is quite lacking in that myopic self-praise too often characteristic of reminiscences of this sort. His is an admirable perspective. When the scouting game was up he moved on to Colorado. Finally, by emphasizing the ways of life and traits of the Indians and by dwelling on the habits of the buffalo, the bear, and the antelope, the author, or possibly the editor, has achieved "a thrilling tale of sustained adventure" (p. vi).

H. C. D.

The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California; their History, Architecture, Art, and Lore. By Rexford Newcomb, M.A., M.Arch., A. I. A., Professor of the History of Architecture, University of Illinois. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925, pp. xvii, 379, \$15.00.) In 1916 Professor Rexford Newcomb, then of the University of Southern California, issued his *Franciscan Mission Architecture of Alta California*, a folio for architects, with the best drawings of the old mission churches. Now follows a handsome large octavo in which these drawings, reduced, with many excellent photographs, are made available to the student and general reader, along with a useful and readable text. Although the foreword makes acknowledgments to the Archivo General de Indias and other repositories of documents, the writer lays no claim to having unearthed anything very new in a purely historical sense. Emphasis is rather on the architectural finds, embodied in the paper restorations of San Juan Capistrano and other buildings. The section dealing with the surviving Spanish houses is new and valuable. The chief appeal of the book, however, is not novelty but completeness. The historical, economic, and social background, the materials and construction, the form and history of the individual missions and houses are all well covered. One may doubtless take exception to some statements in the sketch of Spanish architectural development prefaced to the account of the missions, such as "the classic elements of Italy arriving by way of the low countries", or "the Churrigueresque . . . style admittedly disregarded all architectural canons". These, however, are *obiter dicta* not vital to the book, which takes its place with the Huger Smiths' *Dwelling Houses of Charleston* as a model of regional study in architecture.

FISKE KIMBALL.

Charles Buller and Responsible Government. By E. M. Wrong, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. vii, 352, \$5.00.) In this volume Mr. Wrong reprints two writings of first-rate importance for an understanding of that momentous reform in British colonial policy that was inaugurated by Lord Durham's *Report*. Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield accompanied Durham on his mission to Canada and, as is generally known, had much to do with the preparation of the *Report*. Both of these leaders in the movement for colonial reform were convinced that the only effective remedy for the existing maladministration and consequent discontent in the colonies was to concede to them responsible government, as advocated by Durham, and both expounded and defended the principles of the proposed new system. Buller's *Responsible Government for Colonies*, published anonymously in 1840, and Wakefield's *Sir Charles Metcalfe in Canada*, which appeared as a magazine article in 1844, should be read as explanatory of and supplementary to the *Durham Report*; they give us further insight, as Mr. Wrong says, "into the minds of that small, short-lived group of radical reformers, who, while no political leader of the first class helped with more than passive acquiescence in accomplished fact, made one of the most completely successful revolutions of the nineteenth century". Apart, however, from two chapters of Buller's pamphlet which Wakefield reprinted in his *Art of Colonization* (those containing a sprightly if somewhat unfair attack on James Stephen as "Mr. Mothercountry of the Colonial Office") neither of the works that Mr. Wrong reproduces has been accessible except in the larger libraries, and he has rendered a useful service in making them generally available.

Buller's purpose was to explain precisely what was meant by responsible government for colonies, to show that it was necessary as a cure for prevailing colonial distempers, and to defend it against critics who were seeking to prove that it would result in the loss of the colonies. Wakefield's main object was to show that a recent conflict in Canada between the governor and his ministers was caused by blundering and ignorance of British constitutional usage on the part of the latter, and not by responsible government. In his long and discursive article he discussed a number of subjects more or less closely related to his principal theme but all of them interesting to the student of British imperial history. In his brilliant description of the essentials of the British constitutional system the reader will find Bagehot's classic analysis anticipated at more than one point.

Less is known of Buller's career than of Durham's or Wakefield's, though he was perhaps as indispensable a member of the colonial reform group as either of them. He never held an office of cabinet rank, but during a critical period in the history of the Empire, he was the chief advocate in Parliament of responsible government for the colonies. The brief account of his life and work which Mr. Wrong gives in his introduction to the present volume is the most satisfactory biography of Buller that has been published.

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER.

HISTORICAL NEWS

A *General Index* to vols. XXI.-XXX. of the *Review*, similar to the two preceding general indexes, has been prepared for the Board of Editors by Mr. David M. Matteson, largely on the basis of the volume indexes, and is now to be obtained from the publishers, the Macmillan Company (60 Fifth Avenue, New York), at the price of \$2.00 for paper-bound copies, and \$4.00 for copies bound in the regular black half-morocco binding used for the volumes of the *Review*. It is a book of 183 pages, prepared with much care and intelligence, and must, we should think, be indispensable to many readers. The Macmillan Company also announces, at this time, that the general indexes for volumes I.-X. and XI.-XX. will hereafter be priced at \$1.75 paper and \$3.75 half-morocco.

The editor of this journal would be glad to know of the existence and location of a copy of the anonymous *Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se Repose* (London, 1850).

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The forty-first annual meeting of the Association will be held in Rochester on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, December 28, 29, and 30. The headquarters will be at the Hotel Seneca. The secretary of the Committee of Local Arrangements is Professor Dexter Perkins, of the University of Rochester. The chairman of the Programme Committee is Professor Laurence B. Packard, of Amherst. Members may expect to receive the programme before Thanksgiving Day. It may however be mentioned now that, beside features of it mentioned in our April number, there will be luncheons of those especially interested in Far Eastern history and that of modern Europe, dinners of those interested in medieval history and in the problems of research in colleges not provided with university libraries, and the usual dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. A session on American history of the early period of the republic is also to be mentioned.

The Writing of History (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, pp. xii, 143), the long-expected report of the Association's committee on that subject, was published in July, too late for notice in our July number. Unfortunately the reviewer has been prevented from preparing the desired review in season for our present issue. The volume is however of so much interest to members of the Association, and may so profitably be called to the attention of graduate students at the beginning of the academic year, that, without anticipating the reviewer's comments, it seems appropriate to enter here at least a brief description of the volume. Each member of the committee, Mr. Jusserand, Dr. Charles W. Colby, Professor W. C. Abbott, and Professor J. S. Bassett, has contributed his chapter

to the volume. The highly important subject which the committee had to consider is treated by each writer with freedom, from his own point of view, this latitude resulting perhaps in some repetition, but giving the book the character of a body of suggestion and discourse rather than of an attempt to make on such a subject a systematic treatise.

Copies of the (English) Historical Association's pamphlet on *Foreign Policy and the Dominions*, prepared by Professor W. J. Harte, of University College, Exeter, are still available for gratuitous distribution to any members of the American Historical Association who may apply for them to the editor of this journal.

THE ENDOWMENT FUND

The Committee on Endowment announces progress in the organization of state and district committees for the fall canvass and hopes to have this work completed by October 1. The New York City committee expects to complete its campaign in October but in most other districts the general canvass will be made during the week of November 8-13. The Council of the Association has directed that contributors of \$1000 to the fund shall be designated as Patrons; of \$5000 as Donors; and of \$10,000 as Benefactors. One Benefactor and eight Patrons have already been enrolled as a result of advance contributions. The Carnegie Corporation has made a grant to the Association of \$25,000, to be used as a revolving publication fund.

PERSONAL

History has had a serious loss in the death this spring of M. Albert Waddington, sixty-five years old, who was the author of two excellent volumes on *La République des Provinces-Unies: la France et les Pays-Bas, 1630-1650* (1896-1897), two volumes on *Le Grand Électeur Frédéric-Guillaume* (1905, 1908), and an *Histoire de Prusse* intended to comprise five volumes, of which only the first has appeared (1911).

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne has accepted an invitation to give next winter the Sir George Watson Lectures on American history in the British universities.

Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, formerly of the University of Minnesota, has been appointed by the University of London as Creighton lecturer for the academic year 1926-1927.

Miss Mary Lillian Stevenson, hitherto of Agnes Scott College and of the Rhode Island College of Education, has been appointed professor of history in the Constantinople Woman's College.

Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College will be in Europe on leave of absence during the coming academic year.

On occasion of the retirement of Professor James A. Woodburn from his long service as professor in Indiana University, his former students

have joined in producing a handsome volume of fifteen *Studies in American History* (Bloomington, the University, pp. x, 455); they are on various subjects, but nearly half of them are concerned with the history of the Old Northwest.

Prescott W. Townsend, assistant professor of history in the University of Indiana, has received a fellowship from Yale University, which he will use for the purpose of investigating certain problems of Roman history at points in North Africa.

Mr. R. B. House, who for seven years past has been secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, has resigned that position; he has been succeeded by Mr. Albert R. Newsome, hitherto assistant professor of history in the University of North Carolina.

Professor Guernsey Jones of the University of Nebraska has been granted leave of absence for the first half of the year because of ill health.

Mr. Doane Robinson, veteran secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, has resigned that position and has been succeeded by Lawrence K. Fox.

In the University of Chicago Professor C. Raymond Beazley of the University of Birmingham will give courses in the history of European discovery and expansion during the winter quarter; and Dr. José Vasconcelos, formerly minister of education of Mexico and president of the University of Mexico, courses in the history of Hispanic-American civilization and recent Mexican history during the spring quarter.

We note also the following promotions and appointments to chairs of history: *Wheaton College*, Clifford C. Hubbard to be professor of history and political science; *Yale University*, Daniel C. Knowlton, hitherto of Teachers College, to be assistant professor of visual instruction in history; *Syracuse University*, W. F. Galpin of the University of Oklahoma to be associate professor of history; *New York University*, André A. Beaumont, jr., to be assistant professor; *Princeton University*, A. N. Cook to be assistant professor; *Rutgers College*, M. N. Heald of Princeton to be assistant professor; *Pennsylvania State College*, W. F. Dunaway to be professor; *Rollins College*, Fla., Leland H. Jenks to be professor; *Louisiana State University*, L. C. Mackinney to be associate professor; *University of Tennessee*, P. M. Hamer to be professor; *University of Illinois*, T. C. Pease to be professor, F. C. Dietz and A. O. Craven to be associate professors, A. S. Roberts to be assistant professor; *Illinois Wesleyan University*, K. L. C. Trever to be assistant professor; *University of Michigan*, A. S. Aiton to be associate professor, Albert Hyma to be assistant professor; *University of Wisconsin*, E. H. Byrne and Carl Stephenson to be professors, C. P. Nettels and B. W. Phillips to be assistant professors, E. H. McNeal of Ohio State University to be professor of modern history for the year 1926-1927.

GENERAL.

The International Committee of Historical Sciences, described in our last number (XXXI. 726-731), has, we understand, sent to the press the first of its series of bulletins, which will present a summary account of the organization of the historical sciences in the various countries, brief accounts of recent national historical congresses or similar gatherings, and other historical news of international interest. Largely as a result of the creation of this International Committee, the historical scholars of France have drawn together in a national organization called the Comité National Français des Sciences Historiques, ingeniously arranged upon a representative plan based on the regions of France, and so contrived as to give about equal weight to the university professors and other teachers of history, and to the French historical societies. Professor Georges Glotz has been made the president of the committee, MM. Chr. Pfister and Paul Fournier, vice-presidents, and M. Michel Lhéritier, secretary. A similar committee has more recently been formed in England by joint action of the British Academy, the Royal Historical Society, and the Historical Association.

An American proposal for reviving in some form the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* was laid before the International Congress of Historical Sciences held at Brussels in the spring of 1923, and referred by it to the international committee for which provision was then made. Later, a grant made by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation to the American Historical Association for this and other purposes has made it possible to make definite plans for such an International Year-Book of Historical Bibliography. The International Committee of Historical Sciences has formed a special sub-committee on the project, including Messrs. Caron and Lhéritier of France, Reincke-Bloch of Germany, Leland of the United States, Temperley of England, Calisse of Italy, Friis of Denmark, and Handelsman of Poland. This committee will hold a meeting in Paris on October 21, for determination of plans and policy and, if possible, the selection of a general editor or editorial board.

Professors James H. Breasted and James Harvey Robinson have collaborated in a survey of *The Human Adventure*, summarizing man's achievements from the earliest times to the present, and published by Harper, in two volumes, of which the first, *The Conquest of Civilization*, has been prepared by Professor Breasted, the second, *The Ordeal of Civilization*, by Professor Robinson.

The *Histoire Générale*, edited by Louis Halphen and Philippe Sagnac, is to bear the title, *Peuples et Civilisations*. The first of its twenty volumes is now offered to the public; its theme, *Les Premières Civilisations*, is handled by G. Fougères, G. Contenau, R. Grousset, P. Jouguet, and J. Lesquier (Paris, Alcan, 1926, pp. viii, 437).

Since January, 1926, there has appeared a *Bulletin Bibliographique de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine*, published by the Office de

Documentation Internationale and the Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle. Published monthly, it contains a list of new works in all languages, relative to political, economic, and social questions, since 1919, and a list of principal articles on these subjects in some three hundred periodicals. It emphasizes the international organization of intellectual labors.

The *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, vol. XLI., contains as appendix a "Bulletin du Centre International de Synthèse; Section de Synthèse Historique", giving a résumé of its proceedings from January to April.

There has been founded in England a new Economic History Society, with Sir William Ashley as president, Professors W. R. Scott of Glasgow and E. F. Gay of Harvard as vice-presidents, and Drs. Eileen Power and F. W. Tickner as honorary secretaries. Besides caring in various other ways for the interests of economic history, the society intends to publish an *Economic History Review*, to be edited by Mr. E. Lipson and Mr. R. H. Tawney, with contributions from both English and foreign scholars. Subscriptions to the society may be sent to the honorary treasurer, Mr. J. A. White, 43 Dora Road, London, S. W. 19.

A. A. Knopf has just published *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History*, by Miss Bessie L. Pierce, assistant professor of history in the University of Iowa, an historical account and discussion of some of the attempts that have been made to control the teaching of history in our public schools.

In the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library (Manchester), for July, Professor R. S. Conway, under the title A Graeco-Roman Tragedy, deals with Livy's account of the reign and death of Philip V. of Macedon; Dr. J. Rendel Harris has an ingenious paper on the Early Colonists of the Mediterranean—Egyptian, Arabian, and other; Professor C. H. Herford one on the Mind of Post-War Germany, a paper marked by insight and excellent feeling; and Dr. Antonio Mingana adds to his paper on the Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East, published in the *Bulletin* a year ago, a similarly learned and thorough study of the Early Spread of Christianity in India.

The July number of *History* has articles on the Geographical History of the Cinque Ports, by Dr. J. A. Williamson; on the Political Assumptions of some Medieval Men of Action (chiefly King Sverri of Norway), by E. F. Jacob; and on the Teaching and Practice of Handwriting in England (to be continued), by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for April, besides presenting an account of the sixth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, has a very substantial article on Echoes of Gallicanism in New France, by Sister M. Theodosia O'Callaghan of the Catholic Sisters' College in Brookland, D. C., and an article on Cardinal Mercier, by Mgr. W. P. H. Kitchin of Newfoundland; the July number has a

treatise on the Doctrine of International Law according to Francisco de Victoria, by Dr. Nicolaus Pfeiffer, of Czechoslovakia.

The April and July numbers of the *Journal of Negro History*, with the exception of an account in the former number of the proceedings of the spring conference of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Petersburg, Va., Mar. 30, 31, 1926, are given to a detailed and valuable study of the Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia, by A. A. Taylor, similar in treatment to the author's account of this period in South Carolina which appeared in volume VIII. of the journal.

Useful source-books of texts, in German translations, are: *Sammlung Kirchengeschichtlicher Quellen und Darstellungen* (Paderborn, Schöningh); W. Oppermann, *Religionskundliche Quellenbücherei* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer); and H. Reichman *et al.*, *Ein Jahrtausend Deutscher Kultur von 800-1800* (2d ed., three vols., Leipzig, J. Klinkhardt).

The firm of Felix Meiner, in Leipzig, has revived the useful series of the *Deutscher Geschichtskalender*, bringing the annual volumes down to date after an interruption of some years caused by the war, and has lately issued the volume for 1925.

Professor Lynn Thorndike is the author of *A Short History of Civilization* (New York, F. S. Crofts).

Professor Daniel C. Knowlton, now of Yale University, has brought out through Scribners a volume entitled *History and other Social Studies in the Junior High School*.

The Judson Press of Philadelphia has published *Early Baptist Missionaries and Pioneers*, vol. II., by Walter S. Stewart, and *The Second Century of Baptist Foreign Missions*, by William B. Lippard.

Messrs. Scribner have published *A Study of Costume from the Days of the Egyptians to the Present Time*, by Elizabeth Sage.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ferdinando D'Antonio, *Pel Materialismo Storico* (Nuova Rivista Storica, March-June); F. J. Teggart, *The Humanistic Study of Change in Time* (Journal of Philosophy, June 10); *id.*, *Turgot's Approach to the Study of Man* (University of California Chronicle, April); R. Villate, *Institutions et Organisation Militaires* [general review] (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLI.); Ch. Schmidt, *Les Archives Économiques Modernes* (Revue de Paris, May 15); K. Hampe, *Italien und Deutschland im Wandel der Zeiten* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 2).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: Maurice Besnier, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne Grecque et Romaine* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Paul Cloché, *Histoire Grecque, 1915-1922* (Revue Historique, May).

A History of the Ancient World, designed especially for American university classes in ancient history, has been prepared by Professor Mikhail Rostovtzeff, formerly of the universities of St. Petersburg and Wisconsin, now of Yale University, and will be published in two volumes, with many illustrations. The first volume, *The Ancient East and Greece*, appears this autumn (New York, Oxford University Press); the second, *Rome*, is expected to be ready in February.

Alexandre Moret, professor in the Collège de France and honorary director of the Musée Guimet, is the author of *Le Nil et la Civilisation Égyptienne*, vol. VII. of Henri Berr's series, *L'Évolution de l'Humanité* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1926, pp. 550).

An excellent work in the domain of social and economic history is Bruno Meissner's *Babylonien und Assyrien*, the first volume of which was issued in 1920, the second in 1925 (Heidelberg, Winter, pp. vii, 494). The latter constitutes vol. 4 in the *Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek*, first series: *Ethnologische Bibliothek*.

Messrs. Harrap (London) publish an English translation of *A History of Hebrew Civilization, or the Background of the Old Testament*, by Professor Alfred Bertholet of the University of Göttingen.

In diverse fields of ancient history are to be noted *La Religion de la Grèce Antique*, by Th. Zielinski (Paris, Belles-Lettres, 1926, pp. viii, 191), *Recherches sur la Chancellerie et la Diplomatie des Lagides*, by P. Collomp (Paris, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1926, pp. viii, 244), and *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, vol. I., fasc. I., 2d ed., *Pont et Paphlagonie*, by W. H. Waddington, Ernest Babelon, and Th. Reinach (Paris, Leroux, 1925, pp. iv, 210).

In the series *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, (London, Harrap; New York, Marshall Jones) Professor Edward K. Rand of Harvard has lately published an interesting and enjoyable little volume on *Ovid and his Influence*.

A group of eight Americans—Mr. Root, Mr. Wickersham, and others, the leading spirit in its formation being Dr. John H. Finley—has subscribed the sum necessary for setting up again those fallen columns of the Parthenon which remain *in situ* and capable of restoration to the place which they occupied before the bombardment of 1687.

The Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres has published, in a splendid quarto, *Inscriptions de Délos, Comptes des Hiéropes*, nos. 290–571, by Félix Durrbach (Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. 200), said to be an indispensable complement to the work of Th. Homolle.

Egypt is the sole Hellenistic state of which we possess (thanks to the papyri) detailed knowledge. Agriculture was the basis of the Egyptian economy. Hence great interest attaches to the admirable work of Michael

Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im Hellenistischen Aegypten*, vol. I., *Der Betrieb der Landwirtschaft* (Munich, Beck, 1925, pp. xvii, 379), the author of which is skilled no less in agriculture than in papyrology. This forms the seventh of the *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*.

A. Jarde, maître de conférences at Lille, is the author of *Les Céréales dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, Boccard, 1926, pp. xvi, 240) and of *Études Critiques sur la Vie et le Règne de Sévère Alexandre* (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xvii, 142).

Colorado College has published for Dr. Herbert E. Mierow, assistant professor of classical languages and literatures, a Princeton dissertation on *The Roman Provincial Governor as he appears in the Digest and Code of Justinian* (pp. 54), covering systematically both the executive and judicial functions of the governor.

Valentino Capocci in *La "Constitutio Antoniniana"* (Rome, Bardi, 1925, pp. 136) has made one of the most complete existing studies of the famous law of Caracalla, 212 A. D.

The difficult task of reconstructing the equipment of the Roman soldier from the literary and archaeological evidence which has accumulated in the past half-century has been admirably performed by Paul Couissin in *Les Armes Romaines; Essai sur les Origines et l'Évolution des Armes Individuelles du Légionnaire Romain*, with preface by Salomon Reinach (Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. xlv, 570).

The most complete work which has ever been written on the origins of the consular institution is the *Historia de la Institución Consular en la Antigüedad y en la Edad Media*, by Albert Candiotti (Buenos Aires, Maison Internationale d'Éditions, 1925). There are to be three volumes, of which the first has been published, containing upwards of 800 pages.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Morlet, *L'Alphabet Néolithique de Glozet et ses Ascendances* (*Mercure de France*, July 1); Abel Rey, *Coup d'Oeil sur la Mathématique Égyptienne* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XLI.); W. Wreszinski, *Bäckerei* (*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXI.); Robert Eisler, *L'Origine Babylonienne de l'Alchimie; à propos de la Découverte récente de Recettes Chimiques sur Tablettes Cunéiformes* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XLI.); Alex. Scharff, *Vorgeschichtliches zur Libyerfrage* (*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXI.); Leo Weber, *Solon und die Kämpfe um Salamis* (*Klio*, XX. 4); Paul Schnabel, *Zur Frage der Selbstvergötterung Alexanders* (*ibid.*); Wilhelm Ensslin, *Appian und die Liviusstradition zum Ersten Bürgerkrieg* (*ibid.*); Ettore Pais, *La Política di Augusto e il suo Mausoleo* (*Nuova Antologia*, April 21); Ph. Fabia, *La Carrière Sénatoriale de Tacite* (*Journal des Savants*, May); Léon Homo, *Les Documents de l'Histoire Auguste et leur Valoir Historique*, concl. (*Revue Historique*, May).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

By *motu proprio*, Dec. 11, 1925, Pope Pius XI. created a School for Christian Archaeology which will begin in Rome in this autumn under the direction of Professor J. P. Kirsch of Fribourg, Switzerland. A course of three years is offered, leading to the degree of Master of Christian Archaeology. In the third year the student presents a dissertation of ample length, which will be published, and must give two or more lectures in his special field. A new building for the school will be ready a year hence.

F. Haase's *Altchristliche Kirchengeschichte nach Orientalischen Quellen* (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1925, pp. xvi, 420) is the result of an immense amount of research and classification; it is neither a bibliography of Oriental sources nor a study based on their contents, but a mixture of the two; in any event, it is a useful instrument for the scholar.

The evolution in the attitude of the early Church toward the State from indifference, when not hostility, to a sanctified patriotism forms the theme of Edgar Salin's *Civitas Dei* (Tübingen, Mohr, pp. viii, 245).

In the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1926, I. Heft, Hans Achelis comments on the frescos in the Aurelian catacomb which was discovered in 1919 in the Viale Manzoni in Rome. He holds them to indicate indubitably the cemetery of a Christian family, though evidently one associated with a Gnostic circle. The date is early in the third century.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Abbey of St. Gall, as a Centre of Literature and Art, by A. M. Clark, lecturer in the University of Glasgow (Cambridge University Press, pp. viii, 322), aims at treating as a whole the contribution of St. Gall to European civilization during a period of several centuries.

The importance of Erigena lies in his being the first Western medieval philosopher who elaborated Neoplatonic conceptions into a complete system. The difference between this system and that of Plotinus forms the basis of a discussion by H. Doerries, *Zur Geschichte der Mystik; Erigena und der Neoplatonismus* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1925, pp. 122), who concludes that Erigena's emphasis on the Divine immanence in the visible world forms a bridge to the Neoplatonism of the Renaissance.

The edition of Alexander of Hales produced by the College of St. Bonaventura at Quaracchi is a monumental piece of work, commenced a quarter of a century ago. The first part of the first volume appeared in 1924, a gigantic folio (pp. xlv, 770).

For the Franciscan celebrations of this autumn, Messrs. Dent of London will publish *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany*, containing translations of the chronicles of Thomas of Eccleston and Jordan of Giano.

Father Fidentius Van den Borne, O.F.M., in a volume of the *Franziskanische Studien* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1925, pp. viii, 184), entitled *Die Anfänge des Franziskanischen Dritten Ordens: Vorgeschichte*, deals specifically, and with great mastery and clearness, with the development of the rule of the Ordo Paenitentium.

Harrassowitz of Leipzig announces a revised and enlarged German edition of W. L. Schreiber's *Manuel . . . de la Gravure*, under the title *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, to be published in six quarto volumes, containing 5000 descriptions against 3000 of the old manual. Vol. I. (pp. x, 240) appeared in June of this year.

Professor Otto Cartellieri, of Heidelberg, brings together, in an illustrated book entitled *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund, Kulturhistorische Bilder* (Basel, Schwabe), a number of contributions to various periodicals, and other essays, in which he has dealt with the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, with knighthood, literature, art, and many other aspects of life and manners there.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. E. Stengel, *Die Entwicklung des Kaiserprivilegs für die Römische Kirche, 817-962* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXIV. 2); Fr. Schneider, *Canossa* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLV. 2); C. Balic, *Quelques Précisions fournies par la Tradition Manuscrite sur la Vie, les Oeuvres, et l'Attitude Doctrinale de M. Jean Duns Scot* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, July); Gioacchino Volpe, *Bonifacio VIII. e la Crisi del Papato nel Medioevo* (*Nuova Antologia*, July 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The third course of lectures by various scholars, delivered at King's College, on the *Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, Harrap) includes Bodin, Hooker, Suarez, James I., Grotius, Hobbes, Harrington, and Spinoza. The volume is edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw.

M. François Charles-Roux's *L'Angleterre et l'Expédition Française en Égypte* (Cairo, Société Royale de Géographie, two vols.) is based on thorough studies in the Public Record Office and the India Office.

The friendly accord subsisting between France and England in 1830 furnishes the theme of an interesting discussion by Raymond Guyot in *La Première Entente Cordiale* (Paris, Rieder, 1926, pp. 328).

Of importance to every student of modern European history is the appearance of the second volume of Professor Seignobos's *Histoire Politique de l'Europe Contemporaine* in the revised edition (Paris, Colin, 1926, pp. 696), the first volume of which was reviewed in this journal, XXX. 643.

Idealism and Foreign Policy (London, Murray), by Miss A. A. Ramsay, is chiefly a study of the relations of Great Britain with France and Germany in the period from 1860 to 1878.

Messrs. Fisher Unwin will publish during the autumn *Bismarck, Andrassy, and their Successors: European Politics, 1871-1905*, a translation of an important work by Count Julius Andrassy the younger, the last foreign minister of Austria-Hungary.

Secret and Confidential, by Brig.-Gen. W. H. H. Waters, is announced by Murray of London as the experiences of a military attaché who accompanied the Russian army in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War, commanded the British troops in North China, was attached to a Russian mission in negotiations during the Great War, and was connected with the imperial staff in Russia.

In its April issue, *Europäische Gespräche* prints the following documents: the treaty of Oct. 20, 1925, between Turkey and Yugoslavia, the Polish-Rumanian treaty of Mar. 26, 1926, and the German-Russian treaty of Apr. 24, 1926.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alfred Amonn, *Adam Smith und die Grundprobleme der Nationalökonomie* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXX. 4); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX^e Siècle*, XVI.-XXII. (Nouvelle Revue, May 1—August 1); F. Charles-Roux, *Les Conventions Militaires Italo-Allemandes sous la Triple-Alliance* (Revue de Paris, August 1); *Die Zusammenkunft von Konstanz [1914]* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, July); Hermann Wätjen, *Die Grossen Vier auf der Pariser Friedenskonferenz von 1919* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 4-5).

THE WORLD WAR

The volumes of the Carnegie Endowment's *Economic and Social History of the World War* succeed one another with great rapidity. New issues in the French series are *Mouvement des Prix et des Salaires pendant la Guerre*, by Lucien March (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1926, pp. xii, 336), *Les Formes du Gouvernement de Guerre*, by Pierre Renouvin (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. 188), *Les Dépenses de Guerre de la France*, by Gaston Jèze (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xii, 232), *Tours et la Guerre; Étude Économique et Sociale*, by M. Lhéritier and C. Chautemps (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xii, 72), *La Main-d'œuvre Étrangère et Coloniale pendant la Guerre*, by B. Nogaro and L. Weil (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xii, 80), and *Les Finances de Guerre de la France*, by Henry Truchy (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xii, 172). In the Belgian series is *La Législation et l'Administration Allemande en Belgique*, by J. Pirenne and M. Vauthier (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xvi, 288).

The *Introduction to the American Official Sources for the Economic and Social History of the World War*, compiled by Waldo G. Leland and Newton D. Mereness for Professor Shotwell's series of the Economic and Social History of the World War, is just from the press (New Haven, Yale University Press, pp. xlvii, 532, 18).

It may be of advantage to students of the military history of the World War to know that the German archives of that war are now in-

stalled, as a special section of the Reichsarchiv, in the building which was formerly the War College at Potsdam, and that they are accessible to qualified foreign students with much freedom, little other formality being necessary than an introduction from the American ambassador.

The German Reichsarchiv is preparing a complete history of the World War under the direction of General Haeften, with the co-operation of a large number of officers and historians. A great mass of source-material has been gathered, not only German, but also foreign, especially Austrian and English; the division of labor is such that the first three volumes have been completed in a relatively short time. They follow in general the type of earlier works published by the General Staff and have the merit of going into no greater detail than divisional operations. They bear the title *Der Weltkrieg 1914 bis 1918; die Militärischen Operationen zu Lande*: vol. I., *Die Grenzschlachten im Westen* (Berlin, Mittler, 1925, pp. xvi, 720); vol. II., *Die Befreiung Ostpreussens* (*ibid.*, 1925, pp. xiv, 390); vol. III., *Der Marne-Feldzug von der Sambre zur Marne* (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. 427), covering nine days' operations on the Western front, August 27–September 4, 1914.

The Genesis of the World War: an Introduction to the Problem of War Guilt, by Harry Elmer Barnes, is from the press of Alfred A. Knopf.

The fifth volume of Field-Marshal Conrad von Hötzendorf's *Aus meiner Dienstzeit* (Vienna, Rikola) will probably be the last, in view of the author's death in August, 1925. It covers the last three months of 1914, in a volume of a thousand large pages of text, accompanied by some forty maps.

The Dardanelles Expedition: a Condensed Study, by Captain W. D. Puleston, is brought out by the United States Naval Institute.

One of the obscure intrigues of the World War furnishes the subject of *L'Entente et la Grèce pendant la Grande Guerre, 1914–1917*, by S. Cosmin, who utilizes unpublished documents in French, Russian, German, and Greek (Paris, Société Mutuelle d'Édition, 1926, 2 vols., pp. 900).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alfred von Wegerer, *Neue Ausschnitte zum Attentat von Sarajewo* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, June); Generalstaboberstleutnant Rudolf Kiszling, *Die Oesterreichungarischen Kriegsvorbereitungen und die Mobilisierungsmassnahmen gegen Russland 1914* (*ibid.*); Gen. Nicholas Golovin, *The Great Battle of Galicia, 1914: a Study in Strategy* (Slavonic Review, June); Pierre Deloncle, *Les Sous-marins Français pendant la Guerre* (Revue de Paris, July 15); Ugo Cavaliero, *Come Vincemmo al Piave* (Nuova Antologia, July 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: F. Cabrol, *Courrier Anglais; Angleterre et États-Unis* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July).

For the British Academy, the Oxford University Press has published Professor Wallace Notestein's Raleigh Lecture of last December on *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons*, a pamphlet to be read by every student of the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; also a paper on the Colophons and Marginalia of Irish Scribes (a wonderful and entertaining collection of notes and comments, many of them as Irish as anything can be); read before the Academy by Rev. Charles Plummer; a lecture on the Development of Political Ideas in Italy in the Nineteenth Century, by Comm. Luigi Villari; and interesting commemorations of Sir Adolphus Ward, Sir James Ramsay of Bamff, Sir John Rhÿs, Sir Courtenay Ilbert, and F. C. Conybeare.

Students of the economic history of England should especially note C. M. Waters, *An Economic History of England, 1066-1874* (Oxford University Press), clear, intelligent, and enriched with many illustrations; also L. W. Moffit's *England on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution* (New York, International Publishers), a study of economic and social conditions from 1740 to 1760, with particular reference to Lancashire; and especially Professor Judith B. Williams's two volumes entitled *A Guide to the Printed Materials for English Social and Economic History, 1750-1850* (Columbia University Press).

The third volume of the English Place-Name Society's survey, *The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, prepared by Professors Allen Mawer and F. M. Stenton, has been published by the Cambridge University Press.

Macmillan has published an English translation of Professor D. Pasquet's *Essay on the Origin of the House of Commons*.

The Northamptonshire Record Society is bringing out a volume of documents exhibiting the various relations of the county to the national defense against the Armada, *Copies of Papers relating to Musters, Beacons, Subsidies, etc., in the County of Northampton*.

On occasion of an exhibition of manuscripts and printed books arranged in the John Rylands Library in Manchester last December, in commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of William Tindale's English New Testament, the librarian, Dr. Henry Guppy, prepared *A Brief Sketch of the Transmission of the Bible*, especially of the English Bible, marked by great learning, clearness, and interest. It is now published by the Manchester University Press and Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company in a pamphlet of 75 pages, with 20 facsimiles, and a select bibliography.

Professor W. S. Holdsworth brings his important work on the *History of English Law* to a conclusion by the publication of vol. IX. (London, Methuen, pp. xxii, 457), completing a history of the sources and general development of English law down to 1700, and a history both of the judicial system and of very many of the principles and rules of the English common law, down to modern times.

The Royal Historical Society has continued its series of *British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1789*, by the issue of vol. III. (pp. xli, 229) conveying the series of instructions given in the case of Denmark during the whole period indicated. The editor of the volume, Mr. J. F. Chance, supplies an excellent introduction which illuminates the whole history of Anglo-Danish diplomacy. The instructions are much fuller and more useful to the historian in the period before 1760 than in the reign of George III.

Lord Fife and his Factor (London, Heinemann, pp. vii, 279), edited by Alastair and Henrietta Taylor, presents the correspondence of James, second Lord Fife (1729-1809), with his factor, and illustrates abundantly the life of a Scottish noble in the eighteenth century.

Four volumes of *Papers of King George III.*, edited by Sir John W. Fortescue, king's librarian, will before long be published in London by Macmillan and Company.

The Political Ideas of the English Romanticists, by Crane Brinton, comes from the Oxford University Press.

The Cambridge University Press is publishing the first volume of *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, by Dr. J. H. Clapham of Cambridge, this volume being devoted to the "Early Railway Age".

Memoirs for the latest period, published this autumn by Messrs. Cassell, are Lord Oxford's *Fifty Years of Parliament*, two volumes, Lord Birkenhead's *Wilson and the People round Him*, and Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson's *Soldiers and Statesmen*, two volumes.

A biography of Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, who, it will perhaps be remembered, was British minister in Washington from 1903 to 1906, but for a longer period, before that, was foreign secretary of India and envoy to Persia, has been prepared by Sir Percy Sykes, and published by Messrs. Cassell.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for July has a suggestive article by J. Duncan Mackie on James VI. and I. and the Peace with Spain in 1604, and one of much interest by M. A. Bald on Vernacular Books imported into Scotland, 1500 to 1625. Mr. D. W. Hunter Marshall treats of a Supposed Provincial Council of the Scottish Church at Dundee in February, 1310.

The Scottish History Society has published (Edinburgh, Constable) a volume of *Early Records of the University of St. Andrews*, being the graduation roll from 1413 (the most ancient record of its kind in the United Kingdom) to 1579 and the matriculation roll from its beginning in 1473 to the same date, edited by Dr. James Maitland Anderson, honorary keeper of the university's records.

Documentary publications: *Registrum Thome Wolsey, Cardinalis, Ecclesie Wintoniensis Administratoris, 1529-1530*, ed. Herbert Chitty (Canterbury and York Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dean Armitage Robinson, *The Early Community at Christ Church, Canterbury* (Journal of Theological Studies, April); Ludwig Riess, *The Re-issue of Henry I's Coronation Charter* (English Historical Review, July); W. E. Lunt, *William Testa and the Parliament of Carlisle* (*ibid.*); H. S. Bennett, *The Reeve and the Manor in the Fourteenth Century* (*ibid.*); Sir Charles H. Firth, *Sailors of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate* (Mariner's Mirror, July); G. E. Manwaring, *Journalism in the Days of the Commonwealth* (Edinburgh Review, July); A. Aspinall, *English Party Organization in the Early Nineteenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); Graf Max Montgelas, *Lord Grey als Staatsmann und Geschichtsschreiber*, II., III., concl., 1907-1914 (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, June, July); Hermann Lutz, *Sir Edward Greys "Freie Hand"* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 4-5).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 216; for India, see p. 202.)

In the *Annals of the South African Museum*, vol. XIII., the director, Mr. L. Péringuey, presents a singularly interesting illustrated monograph on the *Inscriptions left by Early European Navigators on their Way to the East*, from the inscribed pillar set up by Diogo Cão in 1485 at Cape Cross, to 1632—inscriptions in Portuguese, French, Dutch, and Danish.

FRANCE

General reviews: Marie Boukonetzka, *Les Derniers Ouvrages des Historiens Russes sur la Révolution Française* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, May); G. Pagès, *Histoire de France de 1660 à 1789*, II. (Revue Historique, May).

The Commission Supérieure des Archives Coloniales has been re-organized under the chairmanship of M. Alcide Dumont, with the object of hastening forward the classification and inventory of colonial archives, both those in Paris and those in the colonies.

The definitive *Histoire de la Gaule* by Camille Jullian has received its seventh volume, dealing with *Les Empereurs de Trèves; les Chefs* (Paris, Hachette, 1926). The eighth and last is promised for November.

A formidable monograph on *Le Haut-Dauphiné au Moyen Age* has been written by Th. Sclafert (Paris, Sirey, 1926, pp. 785).

A detailed *Étude sur le Gouvernement de François Ier dans ses Rapports avec le Parlement de Paris, 1525-1527*, by Professor R. Doucet of Algiers (Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. 324), serves as sequel to a work under the same title by Michel Perret, covering the years 1515-1525, published by this house in 1921.

The fourth volume of M. Pierre Grandchamp's *La France en Tunisie au XVII^e Siècle* (Tunis, Barbier, 1926, pp. xxii, 448), published under the auspices of the French resident-general at Tunis, contains a body of documents respecting the history of the province from 1621 to 1630.

Vol. II. of Édouard Gasc-Desfossés's *La Révolution Française* deals with the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (Paris, Beauchesne, 1925, pp. 700); the point of view is hostile to the Revolution.

An English officer, the late Colonel R. W. Phipps, devoted many years to the study of the military history of France during the Revolutionary period. His son has prepared for the press the first of a series of volumes written by him, *The Armies of the First French Republic: the Armée du Nord* (Oxford University Press).

Existing conditions in France lend point to Raoul Arnaud's study of *Cambon, 1756-1820; la Débâcle Financière de la Révolution* (Paris, Perrin, 1926).

The eventful life of a soldier, who began as a Chouan chief and ended as a marshal of France, is told by Gustave Gautherot in *Un Gentilhomme de Grand Chemin: le Maréchal de Bourmont* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1926, pp. 478).

Vol. II. of *Le Second Empire vu par un Diplomate Belge* by Baron Beyens has now appeared (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. 496).

Messrs. Hutchinson of London have just published a translation, under the title *The Second Empire, and its Downfall*, of the correspondence of Napoleon III. and Prince Napoleon, edited by Ernest d'Hauterive.

The firm of Payot announces a definitive edition of the *Mémoires* of Marshal Galliéni, on the occasion of the dedication of his statue in Paris on July 11 (pp. 256).

The third volume of M. Raymond Poincaré's *Au Service de la France: Neuf Années de Souvenirs* (Paris, Plon) is devoted to the year 1913, the first year of M. Poincaré's term as president of the French republic.

The University of Strasbourg, for the sales of whose publications in America the Oxford University Press is agent in New York, brings out a biography and bibliography of the noted Alsatian historian (1841-1924), Rodolphe Reuss: *Soixante Années d'Activité Scientifique et Littéraire, 1864-1924*. The bibliography is by Professor Christian Pfister, and is preceded by an autobiographical sketch of the subject's early life.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Martinière, *Le Parlement sous les Rois de France*, concl. (*Annales de Bretagne*, XXXVII. 1-2); Paul Serrant, *Seignelay et Bonrepaus*, I. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, July); C. G. Picavet, *Les Commis des Affaires Étrangères au Temps de Louis XIV., 1661-1715* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, April); Léon Cahen, *Le Pacte de Famine et les Spéculations sur les Blés* (*Revue Historique*,

May); Louis R. Gottschalk, *Du Marat Inédit* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, May); Albert Mathiez, *Le Comité de Salut Public et le Complot de l'Étranger, Octobre-Novembre, 1793* (*ibid.*, July); G. Lenotre, *Robespierre et la Mère de Dieu*, VI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); Gabriel Hanotaux, *La Transformation Sociale à l'Époque Napoléonienne*, I., II. (*ibid.*, May 1, June 1); *Mémoires de la Reine Hortense*, I.-IV. (*ibid.*, June 15-August 1); Dom E. Hermant, *La Régence de l'Impératrice Eugénie, d'après des Documents Nouveaux*, II., *La Révolution du 4 Septembre* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Auguste Laugel, *Le Maréchal de MacMahon et le 16 Mai* (Revue de Paris, August 1); Ernest Fréville, *La France et le Riff, 1895-1900* (Nouvelle Revue, May 1); August Bach, *Poincaré und die Erste Balkankrise* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, July).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Vol. XLVII. of the *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* contains four long monographs. The first, prepared by Signora Anna Celli from notes accumulated by her husband the late Professor Angelo Celli, treats of malaria in the medieval history of Rome. The second, by Professor Giovanni Colasanti, deals with the sepulture of King Manfred. In the third, Sig. Giorgio Falco continues his studies of the communes of the Campagna and the Marittima through the brilliant period of the thirteenth century. In the last, Sig. G. Marchetti-Longhi presents the history of the Rocca di Fumone in Campania and its feudal dependencies.

The comprehensive and learned *Geschichte von Florenz*, which Robert Davidsohn has steadily pursued since the publication of the first volume in 1896, has now been completed as far as the fourth, *Die Frühzeit der Florentiner Kultur*. This in turn has two parts, which deal respectively with *Innere Antriebe, Aeussere Einwirkungen, und Politische Kultur* (Berlin, Mittler, 1922, pp. xii, 374) and with *Gewerbe, Zünfte, Welt-handel, und Bankwesen* (*ibid.*, 1925, pp. xi, 523). Each part is followed by a supplementary volume of notes (pp. 84, 139).

The *Vite* of Vespasiano da Bisticci, Florentine bookseller (1421-1498), commemorating the many distinguished men of his day with whom his business brought him into relations, have been for the first time translated into English, and are published by George Routledge and Sons of London, as the *Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the Fifteenth Century* (pp. x, 476).

Un Grand Réaliste, Cavour, by Maurice Paléologue, which has been appearing serially in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, is now published in book form (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. 328).

The second volume of the *Carteggio tra Marco Minghetti e Giuseppe Pasolini*, edited by the latter's grandson, Count Guido Pasolini (Turin, Bocca), covers the important period from 1855 to the end of 1859. The

third and last volume will extend to the end of Minghetti's premiership in 1876.

The Mt. Carmel Press of Yonkers, N. Y., has published an English translation, with some additions for American use, of *Pio XI., Achille Ratti* (1857-1922), the very adequate biography, published in Milan, by Dr. Angelo Novelli, editor of *Italia*.

Under the auspices of the *Revista de Filología Española* Father Zacarías García Villada, S.J., has brought out, on the basis of previous treatises and of long personal experience, a volume of text on *Paleografía Española* (Madrid, pp. vii, 371), accompanied by an album of sixty-seven facsimiles.

Estampas de la Vida en León durante el Siglo X., by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz (Madrid, 1926, pp. 235), is a collection of lectures given before the Royal Academy of History, marked equally by thorough knowledge and by charm of style.

The King of Spain on May 28 last signed a decree approving the purchase, at 1,250,000 pesetas, of the so-called Archivo de Colon, property of the Duke of Veragua, embracing 158 documents relating to Columbus, which are to be added to the collection in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville. Negotiations are in progress looking toward the purchase also of the archives of the Duke of Osuna, 5443 *legajos* in amount.

Stanford University has published (University Series, *History, Economics, and Political Science*, vol. I., no. 2) a translation, by John C. Branner, of Herculano's *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal*.

Senhor Fortunato de Almeida has now brought out the third volume of his *Historia de Portugal* (Coimbra, the author), a standard work on the period from the battle of Aljubarrota in 1385 to the last of Portuguese independence in 1580. The fourth volume, extending to 1816, is in the press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Francesco Landogna, *L'Unità del Regno Italico nell' Alto Medio Evo*, I. (Nuova Rivista Storica, March-June); Corrado Ricci, *L'Anima di Castel Sant'Angelo* (Nuova Antologia, April 21); F. Oliger, O.F.M., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spiritualen, Fratizellen, und Clarenen in Mittelitalien* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLV. 2); Angela Valente, *Filippo II. e l'Italia* (Nuova Rivista Storica, March-June); Albert Pingaud, *Le Royaume d'Italie, 1808*, III. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XL. 3); Kent R. Greenfield, *Mazzini e l'Omicidio di Rhodéz nel 1833* (Nuova Antologia, June 16); Camillo Montalcini, *Sidney Sonnino*, I., concl. (*ibid.*, May 1, 16); R. W. Seton-Watson, *Italy's Balkan Policy in 1914* (Slavonic Review, June).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

As vol. 44 of *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Deutschen Vorzeit* is printed a third edition of Adam of Bremen's *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, prepared by Sigfrid Steinberg on the basis of Bernhard Schmeidler's version in the *Monumenta* (Leipzig, Dyk, 1926, pp. xxxvii, 271).

A valuable detailed study of charitable endowments and institutions in a medieval city is found in H. Lange, *Geschichte der Christlichen Liebestätigkeit in der Stadt Bremen in Mittelalter* (Münster, Aschendorff).

Paul Kalkoff throws new light on the relations of *Humanismus und Reformation in Erfurt, 1500-1530* (Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1926, pp. vi, 98), as well as on *Die Reformation in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg, nach den Flugschriften ihres Ratsschreibers Lazarus Spengler* (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. iv, 130).

Professor Hartmann Grisar, the Catholic historian of Innsbruck, has added to his three-volume biography of Luther a new life in one volume, entitled *Martin Luthers Leben und sein Werk* (Freiburg i.B., Herder, 1926, pp. 596). The same press publishes under the auspices of the Görres-Gesellschaft a study of *Veit Trolmann von Wemding, genannt Vitus Amerpachius, als Professor in Wittenberg, 1530-1543*, by Ludwig Fischer (1926, pp. x, 216).

The *Hallische Forschungen zur Neueren Geschichte* furnish a continuation of the *Historische Studien* (1910-1922) and like them are edited by Richard Fester, being the output of the Halle seminar in modern history. During the inflation period only two products of the seminar found publishers. The first three numbers of the new series all bear the date 1926 and are respectively: *Die Einstellung der Sächsischen Regimenter in die Preussische Armee im Jahre 1756*, by Horst Höhne (Halle, Hendel, pp. 140), *Voltaire und der Antimachiavell Friedrichs des Grossen*, by Karl Siegmar von Galéra (*ibid.*, pp. 101), and *Geschichte der Deutschen Vaterlands-Partei, 1917-1918*, by Karl Wortmann (*ibid.*, pp. 124).

The third volume to make its appearance in M. E. Cavaignac's *Histoire du Monde* is numbered XII. *bis* and treats of *L'Empire Allemand, 1871-1900*, under the authorship of Professor Edmond Vermeil of Strasbourg (Paris, Boccard, 1926, pp. xxiv, 260).

A French interpretation of the diplomatic documents published by the German republic may be had in *Les Origines de la Guerre et la Politique Extérieure de l'Allemagne au Début du XX^e Siècle* by Professor Edmond Vermeil of Strasbourg (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 284).

Among the contents of the *Thüringisch-Sächsische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, vol. XIII. (published in 1925 for 1923 and 1924), are articles by R. Kötzschke on "Nationalgeschichte und Landesgeschichte", and by Eberhard Freiherr von Danckelman on "Die Politik der Wettiner in der Zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts"; in vol. XIV.

(1925) are "Die Niederwerfung der Sozialen Revolution in Thüringen im Mai 1525" by R. Baerwald and "Das Talrecht der Stadt Halle von 1386" by A. Arndt. Both contain a copious bibliography of recent writings on Saxon history, aggregating for the two volumes 110 pages.

Vol. I., no. 2 (pp. 113-249), of the *Publications* of the University of California's Bureau of International Relations (Berkeley, University Press) is a study of the *International Government of the Saar*, by Frank M. Russell. The chapters of the work deal with French aspirations and the Saar compromise, the establishment and operation of the Governing Commission, issues between the latter and the Germans, the plebiscite to be procured in 1935, League machinery and processes, the inquiry of 1923 and later developments.

Students of American Catholicism who have found interest in the early materials in the archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda will be interested in the results which the Bohemian Commission has derived from those archives and which are embodied in Dr. Ignatius Kollmann's volume of *Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide res gestas Bohemicas Illustrantia*, tomi I. pars I., 1622-1623 (Prague, Greger, pp. 475). The volume, compiled before the war, but only recently published, contains eighty-four documents of high importance.

Messrs. Ernest Benn are publishing this autumn the *Memoirs of Dr. Benes*, telling the inner history of the achievement of Czechoslovak independence.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Albert Brackmann, *Die Ostpolitik Ottos des Grossen* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 2); Rudolf Häpke, *Der Nationalwirtschaftliche Gedanke in Deutschland zur Reformationszeit* (*ibid.*); Hermann Bräuning-Oktavio, *Damals in Weimar; mit Ungedruckten Briefen der Herzogin Luise von Weimar [1780-1819]* (Deutsche Rundschau, May); Franz Arens, *Aussenpolitische Bestrebungen der Tschechen im Zeitalter des Siebziger Krieges* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, June); Karl Schünemann, *Die Stellung Oesterreich-Ungarns in Bismarcks Bündnispolitik* (*ibid.*); Theobald von Schäfer, *Generaloberst von Moltke in den Tagen vor der Mobilmachung und seine Einwirkung auf Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, August).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The monograph by W. L. S. Knuif and J. De Jong on *Philippus Rozenius en zijn Bestuur der Hollandsche Zending* (Utrecht, Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht, vol. L., 1925, pp. 410) has the merit of collecting a mass of scattered documents on the Dutch Church of the seventeenth century, not easily accessible to the historian.

The dean of Dutch historians, P. J. Blok, has filled a gap by publishing a monograph on *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff, 1926, pp. 287), in Professor Brugmans's handsomely illustrated series, the *Nederlandsche Historische Bibliotheek*.

Fascicle 8 of the *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* is a study by Jean Rivière of *Le Problème de l'Église et de l'État au Temps de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. 499).

Dr. Friedrich Winkler's treatise on *Die Flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, E. A. Seemann), elaborately and beautifully illustrated from a wide range of manuscripts, is full of instruction respecting the social life of the Burgundian period as well as its art.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Two important general surveys of Norwegian archaeology, both lately published by Aschehoug in Oslo, are Professor Harald Shetelig's *Norges Forhistorie* and Dr. A. W. Brøgger's *Det Norske Folk i Oldtiden*.

Alfred A. Knopf has published a *History of Russia*, by Sir Bernard Pares.

The first three volumes of Professor V. Kluchevski's *History of Russia* appeared in 1911-1913. It is now announced that the fourth volume, covering the period from the birth of Peter the Great to the revolution which brought Catherine II. to the throne, will appear in English translation this autumn (London, Dent).

An illustrated memoir of the *Empress Marie of Russia, and her Times*, by Vladimir Poliakov, will be published this autumn in London by Messrs. Thornton Butterworth; it has been based on large amounts of original material from the reigns of her husband, Alexander III., and of her son, Nicholas II.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Comm. M. Weil, *L'Assassinat de Paul Ier, d'après des Documents Inédits* (*Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, July).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Many readers may find useful the small book written in English by Professor Henry Marczali, of the University of Budapest, on *Hungary's Past: a Synopsis of the History of Hungary* (Budapest, William Borsodi, pp. 112).

Two or three years ago (XXIX. 405) we mentioned Professor Robert Gragger's *Bibliographia Hungariae*, I. *Historica*, prepared under the auspices of the Ungarisches Institut of the University of Berlin, and listing some 9000 titles of independent publications of 1861-1921, in other languages than Magyar, on the history of Hungary. This is now followed by *Bibliographia Hungariae*, II. *Geographica; Politico-Oeconomica* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Company, 1926, pp. xlvii, cols. 319-710), of similar scope and authorship, and even greater extent.

Conrad Chapman, an American, has written in French an account of *Michel Paléologue, Restaurateur de l'Empire Byzantin, 1261-1282* (Paris, Figuière, 1926).

The Brussels house of Van Oest offers for subscription a work on *La Miniature Byzantine* by J. Ebersolt, to appear in 1926 (pp. 120).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Little, Brown, and Company have published a volume by Dr. Herbert H. Gowen entitled *Asia: a Short History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*.

The late Sir George Forrest prepared, and B. H. Blackwell of Oxford has published two volumes of *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India: Lord Cornwallis*, framed on much the same lines as his *Selections from the State Papers: Warren Hastings*, published in 1910. The first volume is devoted to an estimate of Cornwallis and his career in India, the other to a selection of his letters and minutes, almost all taken from Colonel Ross's edition of Cornwallis's *Correspondence*.

A selection of the hitherto unpublished papers and despatches of Lord Ellenborough, prepared by Sir Algernon Law, is to be published this autumn by the house of Murray, under the title *India under Lord Ellenborough, March, 1842-June, 1844*.

Professor R. Coupland of Oxford has written a biographical study of Sir Stamford Raffles, founder of Singapore, which will shortly be published by the Oxford University Press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Adm. G. A. Ballard, *The Effect of the Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century on Indian Ocean Development* (Mariner's Mirror, July); Maurice Lewandowski, *Sun-Yat-Sen, Fondateur de la République Chinoise* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Among the special publications of the Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, under the auspices of King Fuad I., the most recent is a handsomely printed and illustrated monograph on *Les Premières Frégates de Mohamed Aly, 1824-1827*, by Lieutenant Georges Dou'n, well known for his studies of naval operations in Egyptian waters during the early nineteenth century (Cairo, Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1926, pp. viii, 125).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Émile Laloy, *Les Débuts de l'Af-faire Marocaine, d'après les Documents Allemands* (Mercure de France, May 1).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington published in June, a few days after our last number went to press, the third volume of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (pp. lxii, 582), containing 706 letters, or parts of letters, of the year 1778. The first volume of

Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro, edited by Mrs. R. C. H. Catterall, will apparently be published on about the same day as this number of the *Review*. Vol. II. of the Bandelier documents, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, etc.*, edited by Professor C. W. Hackett, and vol. II. of Dr. Stock's *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America* are waiting only for the completion of their indexes. Vol. I. of Mrs. Surrey's *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives relating to the Mississippi Valley* is nearly ready.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress are: photostat copies of the Samuel Adams papers in the New York Public Library (1296 sheets), and of the Franklin Pierce papers in the New Hampshire Historical Society, 1820-1869 (768 sheets); transcripts from the Danish archives, 1671-1763, relating to the Virgin Islands; manuscript account-books of Richard Crawford, 1755-1823; ninety letters of William Vans Murray, 1784-1804; additions to the papers of Matthew F. Maury, relating to his stay in England; and Japanese drawings and paintings illustrating Commodore Perry's expedition of 1854. The Library has published for this division the usual annual list of *Accessions of Manuscripts, Broad-sides, and British Transcripts* acquired during 1925.

The Government Printing Office has arranged to place the Treaty Series on sale hereafter through the Superintendent of Documents. The Department of State will therefore hereafter limit its gratuitous distribution of this series to official requests exclusively.

The new Norwegian-American Historical Association, though founded little more than a year ago, is already highly prosperous, a list dated May 1, 1926, showing a total membership of 566. The first of its publications, *Studies and Records*, vol. I. (Minneapolis, the Society, pp. 175), is a volume of great interest and most creditable scholarship. The longest article, the first in this vol. I., is a paper on Health Conditions and the Practice of Medicine among the Early Norwegian Settlers, 1825-1865, by Professor Knut Gjerset of Luther College, and Dr. Ludvig Hektoen, professor of pathology in the University of Chicago, a valuable contribution to the *Kulturgeschichte* of the Northwest. This is followed by an article on the Norwegian Quakers of 1825 and their relation to the immigrants of the *Restoration*, by the translation of a pastoral letter against emigration published by the Norwegian Bishop Jacob Neumann (Bergen, 1837); by a valuable account of the Norwegian settlements in the West in 1844, translated from J. R. Reiersen's *Veiviser for Norske Emigranter*; by a description of an emigrant voyage made in 1854 by a former sea-captain; and the reminiscences of a pioneer Norwegian-American editor, Carl Fredrik Solberg, connected with the newspaper *Emigranten* from 1856 to 1868 (d. 1924). The new society has a rich and important field and is entitled to a hearty welcome.

A new issue, brought out this spring, in the series of *Smith College Studies in History* (XI. 3), is *Austria and the United States, 1848-1852*, a study of the diplomatic relations of those two governments, by Professor M. E. Curti of that college, which, on the basis of documents in Austrian and American archives, treats of the mission of A. Dudley Mann, the Kossuth and Hülsemann affairs, and other episodes of that revolutionary period. The next preceding issue in the same series was *The Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy*, by Miss Rose Mildred Stahl, a careful, intelligent and fair-minded account, based on thorough study and good reasoning.

Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem: Select Documents (pp. 901), by Edith Abbott, is from the University of Chicago Press (Social Service Series).

Resuming the interrupted issue of *Hefte der Theologischen Amerika-Bibliothek*, Professor Karl Bornhausen, of Breslau, has published under the title *Der Christliche Aktivismus Nordamerikas in der Gegenwart* two essays on the relation to political life of American churches and foreign missions.

In the March number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society appear the annual address ("Quadragesima Annis, 1884-1924") of the president, Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday; an article on the Gallipolis Colony in southern Ohio, by Rev. John McGovern; and the concluding installment of Sister M. Eulalia Herron's papers on the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States, the present article relating to the diocese of Dubuque from 1867 to 1893 and to the archdiocese from 1893 to 1921.

A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-Day Adventists, by Mahlon E. Olsen, is published in Takoma Park, D. C., by the *Review and Herald* Publishing Association.

The Mind of the Negro as reflected in Letters written during the Crisis, 1800-1860, edited by Dr. Carter G. Woodson, is a publication of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (Washington, D. C.), brought together from successive numbers of the *Journal of Negro History*.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has brought out a pamphlet on *Early American Sign Boards*.

The Stagecoach, a history, by George Estes, is published in Portland, Oregon, by George Estes' Publishers.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Heinrich Charles of 116 Nassau Street, New York, is author and publisher of a small volume (pp. 184) on the *Romance of the Name America*, in which the story of Waldseemüller and his book is recounted, with emphasis on the influence of Mathias Ringmann, and the history of

the prenomén Amerigo is traced, with much romantic narrative of the Amalungs.

A useful *Hilfswörterbuch für den Amerikanisten*, containing the most important Indian words incorporated into the vocabularies of the great European colonizing nations during the period of the discoveries, has been compiled by Captain Georg Friederici (Halle, Niemeyer, 1926, pp. xix, 115). The words are rendered into German, Spanish, and English. The book forms part of the series, *Studien über Amerika und Spanien*, edited by Karl Sapper, Arthur Franz, and Adalbert Hämel.

In the *Mariner's Mirror* for July Mr. R. C. Anderson, English expert in the making of naval models, gives an account, with interesting illustrations, of the *Mayflower* model ("model of an English merchantman of the size and date of the *Mayflower*") which he made for the hall of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth on order from their late president, Mr. Arthur Lord.

In the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* for July, 1925, with continuance in the October number, Father Jerome Goyens presents an elaborate biographical study of Father Louis Hennepin.

Philip Guedalla's volume of biographical studies which we have mentioned under its English title of *Independence Day* appears in the United States with the title *The Fathers of the Revolution* (Putnam).

Doubleday, Page, and Company will shortly publish a life of Button Gwinnett, signer of the Declaration of Independence, by Charles F. Jenkins. The volume will include also a rare map of the state of Georgia, together with a number of hitherto inaccessible documents.

Sometime ago Professor F. A. Golder of Stanford University discovered in the Russian archives a body of letters belonging to the Russian period of John Paul Jones's career. It is understood that these letters, for which Professor Golder will write an appropriate introduction, will presently be published by Doubleday, Page, and Company.

The Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag (House Doc. no. 258, 69th Cong., 1st sess.), by R. C. Ballard Thruston, has been issued as a separate (Washington, Government Printing Office).

Dr. Randolph G. Adams has had printed for the William L. Clements Library a quarto volume containing facsimiles of three passports, of different form, printed in France by Benjamin Franklin in 1780; they are accompanied by interesting comment.

The New York Historical Society commemorates the sesquicentennial of the Revolution by publishing a handsome and elaborate quarto volume, of 297 pages, on *Uniforms of the American, British, French, and German Armies in the War of the American Revolution*, edited by Alexander J. Wall, librarian of the society. It contains fifty six-color-process illustrations, from water-color sketches by the late Lieut. Charles M. Lefferts,

with a text supplying full information respecting all these uniforms (the Society, \$30.00).

The Houghton Mifflin Company has published *The Best Letters of Thomas Jefferson*, selected and edited by Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. The purpose of the volume is "to bring together such selections from Jefferson's writings as will best illustrate his views on questions of large importance then and now", to make Jefferson "better known to a generation which has need of him as the most significant interpreter of Americanism". Besides the letters there are four representative writings: the Statute for Religious Freedom in Virginia (1786), the first Inaugural Address (1801), the Solemn Declaration and Protest of Virginia (1825), and his Epitaph.

Mr. John Hill Morgan's *Gilbert Stuart* (New York, W. E. Rudge, 4 vols., \$100.00) is elaborate in the matter of biography, characterization, and critique, and presents a catalogue of 1058 portraits (111 of Washington), and in the third and fourth volumes 606 reproductions of Stuart's paintings.

To the mention of histories of "centennial firms" in our last number may be added *The Firm of Alexander Brown and Sons* [founded in 1800] (Baltimore, Frank R. Kent, pp. 215).

The Friedrich List Gesellschaft's second volume of List's writings, containing the writings of his American period, 1825-1831, will be edited by Professor William Notz, of Georgetown University.

C. E. Byrne is the author of a history of the Indian wars in the 'sixties and 'seventies, more particularly of the Custer disaster, to which he has given the title *Soldiers of the Plains* (Minton, N. Y., Balch). *The Old Sergeant's Story: Winning the West from the Indians and Bad Men in 1870 to 1876*, by Capt. Robert G. Carter, is chiefly a collection of letters from a sergeant of cavalry to his captain (New York, F. H. Hitchcock).

Don Carlos Seitz is the author of a volume which is described as "a chronicle of some political, moral, military, and financial phases of the United States of the '70's" and bears the title *The Dreadful Decade* (Bobbs-Merrill).

The second installment of the six-volume edition of President Woodrow Wilson's public papers, vols. III. and IV., *Principles of Democracy*, embracing all the important addresses and messages and notes, domestic and foreign, written by Mr. Wilson from the time of his inauguration in 1913 to the entry of the United States into the war in 1917, is published this autumn by the house of Harper.

The Harvard University Press has published the third book, completing the series, of the *Naval History of the World War*, by Captain Thomas G. Frothingham, this volume (pp. vii, 310) being concerned with the participation of the United States in the war.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Religion of New England, by Thomas Van Ness, is an historical study of the Christian religion in New England from the times of the Pilgrims, published for the Second Unitarian Society of Brookline, Massachusetts (Boston, Beacon Press).

A *History of the Town of Stratford, New Hampshire, 1773-1925*, by Jeanette R. Thompson, is published in Concord by the Rumford Press.

Harold W. Slocum has written *The Story of Vermont*, which Charles Scribner's Sons have published.

The December-January serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society has for its main contents a body of letters of 1775, by Isaac Smith, sr. and jr., and their connections. There is also a brief paper on DuLuth by W. B. Munro, an account of the various copies of Columbus's "Book of Privileges" by Dr. Charles L. Nichols, with special explanation concerning the abridgment in the John Carter Brown Library. Mr. James White's controversion of Senator Lodge's account of his participation in forming the convention on the Alaska boundary in 1903 is reprinted from the *Canadian Historical Review*.

The Connecticut Historical Society and the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut have joined in preparing for publication the *Records of the Particular Court of Connecticut*, covering the period from the early settlement of the colony to 1666.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Courts and Lawyers of New York: a History, 1609-1925, in three volumes, by Alden Chester and Edwin M. Williams, is put forth by the "American Historical Society", so called, of New York.

Mr. Henry Collins Brown's continuation or revival of *Valentine's Manual* has proceeded this year to its tenth number, *The Last Fifty Years in New York*, in which a multitude of half-forgotten aspects of social history, some merely entertaining and some of high importance, are set forth with abundant illustrations.

Prepared with great care, and privately printed in a small edition, Mr. Otto Hufeland's *Westchester County during the American Revolution* (pp. 478) is accompanied by four entirely new maps of the county as it existed at the time referred to, made from the best sources of information.

In the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, July issue, is an article by Edward S. Rankin on the Newark-Elizabethtown-Barbadoes Controversy (an eighteenth-century boundary controversy). The other principal articles are continuations: the Loyalists of New Jersey, contributed by E. Alfred Jones; the Argonauts of Jersey City, by Wil-

liam H. Richardson; and Dr. John C. Honeyman's contributions concerning Zion, St. Paul, and other Lutheran Churches in the state.

The principal articles in the July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* are: Pro-Jackson Sentiment in Pennsylvania, 1820-1828, by Herman Hailperin; Benjamin West and the Royal Academy, by Charles I. Landis; and the concluding installment of the sketch of Jeremiah S. Black, by the late Francis N. Thorpe.

William J. Campbell, 223 South Sydenham Street, Philadelphia, publishes facsimile reproductions of two of the earliest and rarest maps of Philadelphia and its vicinity, Thomas Holme's map of 1687 and John Reed's of 1774, being the facsimiles of full size published originally in 1870 and accompanied by Reed's *Explanation*. He has also published *A Descriptive List of Maps and Views of Philadelphia, 1683-1865*, by the late P. Lee Phillips.

The Wyoming Historical and Geographical Society (Wilkes-Barré) has just issued, as a part of the results of its archaeological survey of Eastern Pennsylvania, an illustrated volume on *Aboriginal Rock Shelters and other Archaeological Observations in the Wyoming Valley and Vicinity* (pp. 186), by Max Schrabisch.

Following are the recent *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society: Migration of Lancaster County Mennonites to Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1825, by A. G. Seyfert (March 5); the so-called "Kentucky Rifle", as made in Lancaster County, by D. F. Magee (April 9); Notes on Reamstown, Lancaster County, by Pierce Leshner (May 5); and a sketch of Colonel Adam Reigart (1739-1813), Revolutionary innkeeper of Lancaster, by Edward P. Brinton.

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* has in the July number, aside from continued articles, a paper by Annie Clark Miller, entitled Old Houses and Estates in Pittsburgh.

E. B. Burgess has prepared a *Memorial History of the Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1748-1845-1924*, which is published in Greenville, Pennsylvania, by the Beaver Printing Company.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

A History of Southern Methodist Missions, by James Cannon, is published by the Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tennessee.

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* includes some material on the Worcester County Militia of 1794, edited by Harry F. Covington; a paper on Washington's Relations to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, by Paul E. Tittsworth; one on St. John's Church, Queen Caroline Parish, Howard County, by Henry J. Berkley; and a continuation of the letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman, "Eighteenth Century Gossip of two Maryland Girls", edited by J. Hall Pleasants, as also of the Life of Thomas Johnson, by Edward S. Delaplaine.

The Virginia State Library has published vol. I. of the *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, the first of a series of ten or a dozen such volumes. Vol. I. of *Official Letters of the Governors of Virginia* is nearly ready for delivery. The Library has also brought out *Notes on Southside Virginia* (pp. 346), by Walter A. Watson, edited by Mrs. Watson. The *Notes* include a variety of miscellaneous materials gathered by Judge Watson with a view to writing a history of Southside Virginia, namely, that region lying south of the James and east of the Blue Ridge mountains. There are, for instance, abstracts and copies of records, biographical sketches, genealogical notes, occasional letters, extracts from Judge Watson's diaries (1888-1916), and several biographical sketches of him, including one by his widow, Mrs. Constance T. Watson.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints, in the July number, the Phi Beta Kappa address delivered at William and Mary College last December by Dr. Albert Shaw, and the diary kept by Captain Philip Buckner of a journey from Kentucky to Natchez by water and return by land, 1801. Mr. William Buckner McGroarty furnishes extensive annotations to the diary. Another interesting contribution is by Robert M. Hughes and is entitled the Genesis of the F. F. V., being a reply, as regards Virginia, to some recent strictures on colonial history.

The July number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* includes a letter, relating to William and Mary College, found in Purdie's *Virginia Gazette* of Nov. 22, 1776, and believed to have been written by Jefferson; some Webster-Tyler correspondence; and a discussion by Robert M. Hughes, jr., of the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has published volume I. of *Calendars of Manuscript Collections* (pp. 308), prepared from original manuscripts in the collections of the commission by D. L. Corbett, calendar clerk. This volume contains briefs of transcripts of the Dartmouth Manuscripts, 1720-1793; the Hayes Collection, 1748-1806; North Carolina letters from the Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library, 1757-1847; the David L. Swain Manuscripts, 1772-1869; proceedings of the court-martial trial of Col. Charles McDowell, 1782; the Thomas Henderson letter-book, 1810-1833; North Carolina letters from the Van Buren Papers in the Library of Congress, 1824-1858; North Carolina letters from the Crittenden Papers, *ibid.*, 1827-1863; the E. J. Hale Manuscripts, 1850-1866; and the Spencer Papers, 1859-1903.

The July number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* has articles on School Support and our North Carolina Courts, 1868-1926, by Professor Charles L. Coon; one on an Antigua Plantation, 1769-1818, based on its accounts, by Professor U. B. Phillips; and one on Defeatism in the Confederacy, by Professor Frank L. Owsley. The magazine also contains a reprint of a sermon on the duty of subjection to the civil powers,

preached before Governor Tryon and his militia by Rev. Dr. George Micklejohn (Newbern, 1768—misprinted MDCCLXIII in the reprint), and a variety of newspaper communications of 1771 attacking and defending Tryon.

The latest issue among the University of North Carolina's *James Sprunt Historical Publications* is a dissertation on *Slaveholding in North Carolina: an Economic View* (pp. 103), by Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, assistant professor of history in Furman University, in which importations, the various employments of slave labor, migration to the southwestward, sales and hiring of slaves, and the management of plantations, are all treated with great care and intelligence.

F. H. Hitchcock, New York, has published a reprint of Wheeler's *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851*.

The University of North Carolina Press has published a volume entitled *Old Days in Chapel Hill: being the Life and Letters of Cornelia Phillips Spencer*, of which the author is Hope S. Chamberlain.

The Burckmyer Letters, March, 1863-June, 1865, edited by Charlotte R. Holmes, is a collection of letters exchanged between the grandfather and grandmother of the editor. They have an especial value for the light which they throw upon life in Charleston and in the Confederate colony in Europe during the war (Columbia, S. C., the State Company).

The July number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Professor James O. Knauss on the Growth of Florida's Election Laws; an account of the Massacre at Indian Key, Aug. 7, 1840, being the narrative of Hester P. Walker, a survivor; a letter of G. I. F. Clarke relating to Port St. Joseph, East Florida (1823); and some letters relating to MacGregor's attempted Conquest of East Florida (1817).

The American Antiquarian Society has received a small collection of papers relating to affairs in Florida in the year 1841, among them two letters from Thomas Douglas to Hon. H. M. Brackenridge regarding the division of the territory into East Florida and West Florida, proposed in order to balance the admission of the Northern states of Wisconsin and Iowa. Other letters concern legal matters, preservation of timber, and political affairs.

Much good Alabama history is printed in the *Pageant Book* of the celebration held in Montgomery last May, along with what relates to the specific occasion. The pamphlet (pp. 80), edited by Peter A. Brannon, has many interesting illustrations.

WESTERN STATES

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June contains a paper on Early Land Communication with the Lower Mississippi, by Professor Julian P. Bretz of Cornell University; an account of a Cattleman's Com-

monwealth on the Western Range, by Louis Pelzer of Iowa; a critical study of Thomas Ashe and the authenticity of his *Travels in America*, by Professor Francis H. Herrick; and a document, edited by Professor Beverley W. Bond, jr., from the Force Collection in the Library of Congress, containing an account of the captivity of Charles Stuart during the French and Indian War, 1755-1757 —one of the best of "captivity" narratives. The September number gives first place to Professor J. A. Woodburn's presidential address delivered before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association last May, an excellent paper on Western Radicalism in American Politics. This is followed by an article on the Five Nations in Queen Anne's time, by Professor W. T. Morgan, and a very useful one on the Notion of a Great American Desert east of the Rockies, by Ralph C. Morris. The nineteenth annual meeting of the society named is fully described by Bruce E. Mahan. The documentary material is a translation of the baptismal register of St. Joseph, Michigan, 1721-1773, from the archives of the seminary at Quebec.

The June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a sketch, by Howard R. Burnett, of James D. Williams, the last pioneer governor of Indiana; the autobiographies of the Rev. George Knight Hester and his wife, which throw light upon life in southern Indiana prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, and, by the former, the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Educational History of Clark's Grant; a sketch of Professor John I. Morrison (1806-1882) and the Washington County Seminary, by Mrs. Annie Morrison Corwin; and one of James F. D. Lanier (1800-1881), by George S. Cottman. There are also in this issue some letters (1821-1844) from the correspondence of Noah Noble, contributed by Mrs. Esther Noble Carter. These include two letters from William Henry Harrison and five from Henry Clay.

The October (1925) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains an extended study, by Sivert Erdahl, of Eric Janson and the Bishop Hill Colony; an address, by Richard Yates, at the Jacksonville Centennial, Oct. 6, 1925; some Letters of Jean Girault relating to the Illinois Country, with extended comment by H. W. Roberts; and Personal Recollections of the Early Settlement of Carlinville, Ill., by Mary B. Wright. The January number contains an article by Edgar L. Masters entitled Days in the Lincoln Country; the Civil War Diary of Colonel William Camm, covering practically the entire period of the war; sketches, by members of his family, of Joseph Smith (1786-1852); and a number of letters (1832-1834) from Gen. Henry Dodge, Governor John Reynolds, Brig.-Gen. T. M. Neale, and others.

The principal contents of the July number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* are: a Life of James Marquette, by Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S.J.; an article by Rev. John Rothensteiner, entitled From Chicago to St. Louis in the Early Dawn of Western History; an address by Judge Victor J. Dowling, of New York, entitled Heroes of America's Origin:

Isaac Jogues, René Goupil, Joseph Lalande; an autobiographical sketch of the Right Reverend James Oliver Van de Velde, second bishop of Chicago; and an account, by Rev. A. Zurbonsen, of the Institutions conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis, Springfield, Ill.

The Filson Club has brought out (*Publications*, no. 31) reprints of William Littell's *Political Transactions in and concerning Kentucky*, and *Letters of George Nicholas to his Friend in Virginia* (Louisville, J. P. Morton and Company).

Professor E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia has published through the University of North Carolina Press a study of *The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky*.

The latest publication of the Michigan Historical Commission is a volume of great interest prepared by that indefatigable historical student, Justice William R. Riddell of the Supreme Court of Ontario, and entitled *Michigan and the British Rule: Law and Law Courts, 1760-1796* (pp. 493). After a preliminary treatise on the British law courts exercising jurisdiction in what is now Michigan, under British authority *de jure* (1760-1783) and *de facto* (1783-1796), the volume presents the records of the court of common pleas for the "district of Hesse", Upper Canada, 1788 to 1796, and of a court of oyer and terminer in 1792—all illuminated by a large body of learned and interesting notes.

Articles in the July number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: *Recollections of Early Days at Mackinac*, by Grace F. Kane; *What Indians knew about Manistique and Schoolcraft County*, by William F. Gagnieur, S.J.; the "Hutchins" Map of Michigan, by William L. Jenks; and the fourth of Mr. Henry A. Haigh's papers concerning the Ford Historical Collections at Dearborn.

Mr. M. M. Quaife offers in the May number of the *Burton Historical Leaflet* the Story of Brownstown, being chiefly an episode in General Hull's Detroit campaign.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has received a gift from the Wisconsin Society of Colonial Dames of America for the purpose of making an experimental study of church records, in the hope of being able to use such records for the study of migration into and from the state. A new volume in the *Domesday Book* series, prepared by Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the Society, and dealing with the history of four lakeshore counties, Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, and Ozaukee, is now in press.

The contents of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, July number, include an article on the Origins of Milwaukee College, by Louise P. Kellogg; one on the Wisconsin Press and Slavery, by Kate E. Levi; and one on Early Lumbering on the Chippewa, written by William W. Bartlett from an interview with Bruno Vinette. The biography of Judge William P. Lyon, by Clara Lyon Hayes, is concluded.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin is publishing a facsimile reproduction of the *Pharmacopoeia Augustana* (1564), with a careful bibliographical introduction by Dr. Edward Kremers. The reproduction has been procured from the University of Würzburg at the instance and at the expense of Dr. Joseph Schneider of Milwaukee. The Wisconsin society has a special collection of old medical and pharmaceutical works, accompanied by a fund for publication.

The Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee has brought out in its *Bulletins* two illustrated monographs by Alanson Skinner, the one, *Ethnology of the Ioway Indians* (pp. 174), the other, *The Mascoutens or Prairie Potawatomi Indians*, part II., *Notes on the Material Culture* (pp. 64). The Ioway Indians (Siouan) offer, in the opinion of the author, an especially interesting object of study because, "while they belong to one linguistic family, their material culture and folklore are largely identified with those of the component peoples of another group, the Central Algonkian", having been much influenced by migrations from woodlands to plains. There are few survivors (79 in Oklahoma, 162 in Kansas and Nebraska), and their native culture is dead in practically all its branches. The Mascoutens, in their material culture, are "almost wholly typical of the Central Algonkian group", although "there are also a number of examples of Plains influence".

Dr. Solon J. Buck's address, the Promotion of American History and of History in America, delivered before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in May, appears in the June number of *Minnesota History*. The same magazine contains a paper by Theodore C. Blegen on Minnesota Pioneer Life as revealed in Newspaper Advertisements, and a group of materials brought together by Bertha L. Heilbron, pertaining to Isaac I. Stevens and the Pacific Railroad Survey of 1853.

The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900, by Henrietta M. Larson, is no. 269 of the Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains an article by Earle D. Ross on the Evolution of the Agricultural Fair in the Northwest, and one by Henry A. Bennett on Fish and Game Legislation in Iowa.

Articles in the July number of the *Annals of Iowa* are: James W. Grimes *versus* the Southrons, by F. I. Herriott; some specimen lists (twenty counties) of Iowa men and women lost in the World War; and a continuation of Benjamin F. Pearson's diary of the Civil War.

Graduate students and members of the staff of political science in the State University of Iowa have begun under the direction of Professor B. F. Shambaugh an extensive study of municipal government and admin-

istration in Iowa, intended to result in a comprehensive survey of all its types of municipal government, forming one or more volumes in the *Iowa Applied History Series* published by the State Historical Society.

The June number of the *Palimpsest* has an account, by M. M. Hoffman, of a missionary enterprise among the Sioux Indians in the region of Fort Snelling, beginning in 1839, while in the July number Granville Stuart describes his boyhood experiences on the frontier.

The Missouri Historical Society has received another installment of the P. Chouteau Maffitt Collection, the gift of Mr. Maffitt's daughter, Mrs. R. H. Keiser, embracing some 25 bound volumes and about 1350 unbound manuscripts, mostly letters addressed to Pierre Chouteau, jr., and illustrating to an important degree the history of the fur trade from 1809 to 1850.

The *Missouri Historical Review* has in the July number, besides a number of brief articles, some Recollections of George C. Bingham, the painter, by C. B. Rollins; the sixth chapter of Thomas S. Barclay's study of the Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri; and the tenth installment of Daniel F. Grissom's Personal Recollections of Distinguished Missourians (Claiborne F. Jackson).

The Missouri Historical Society has brought out *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, in two volumes, edited by Professor Thomas M. Marshall.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* has in the July number the Diary of James K. Holland, a Texan Volunteer in the Mexican War; an article by Joseph Ellison on the Mineral Land Question in California, 1848-1866; one by Harbert Davenport on Captain Jesús Cuellar, Texas Cavalry, otherwise "Comanche"; and a letter (1839) from Daniel O'Connell, the Irish political agitator, to Joseph Sturge, the Quaker philanthropist, respecting a plan for the colonization in Mexico of free persons of color by the British government. The letter is contributed, with an introduction, by Dr. Annie H. Abel.

The contents of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* include some Notes of the Settlement of No Man's Land, by Elmer E. Brown; an article on the Opening of Oklahoma, by Hamilton S. Wicks; an account, by Guy A. Crossett, of life and customs among the Choctaws ("A Vanishing Race"); one by W. B. Morrison on the Choctaw mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and other brief articles concerning the Choctaws.

The Harlow Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, has reprinted for its "Western Series" of English and American classics Washington Irving's *Tour of the Prairies*, edited for school use by George C. Wells,

high-school inspector of Oklahoma, and Joseph B. Thoburn, secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The volume also includes pertinent extracts from Irving's *Journals* and from Charles J. Latrobe's *Rambler in North America* (London, 1836).

The May number of the *Colorado Magazine* contains an article by L. R. Haften on the Status of the San Luis Valley, 1850-1861, one on Early Days in Canon City and South Park, being the narrative obtained by H. H. Bancroft from Warren R. Fowler, and other brief articles.

The July number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains a paper by J. Lloyd Meacham on the Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico, 1581-1582; one by F. S. Curtis, jr., on the Influence of Weapons on New Mexico History; and one by Benjamin M. Read entitled the Last Word on "Montezuma". The contributions on New Mexico in the Great War are continued, as is also the serial publication on the Founding of New Mexico.

Eighty-one Years in the West, the autobiography of George Bruffey, is brought out in Butte, Mont., by the author.

The diary of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, which has appeared in installments in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, with editorial notes by Professor Edmond S. Meany, has been brought out in a volume entitled *The Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest* (Seattle, University of Washington Press).

The Blazed Trail of the Old Frontier, by Miss Agnes C. Laut, which McBride has published, is "the log" of the Upper Missouri Historical Expedition of 1925.

The July number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains a History of Pig Iron Manufacture on the Pacific Coast, by Joseph Daniels; Ben Burgunder's Recollections of the Inland Empire, contributed, with an introduction, by J. Orin Oliphant; a History of the Seattle General Post Office, by Nicholas C. Cullinan; and some Notes and Observations on the Origin and Evolution of the Name of Oregon as applied to the River of the West, by William L. Lewis.

The June number of the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society contains the third installment of Lewis A. McArthur's studies of Oregon Geographic Names, and a brief account, by Charles H. Carey, of an interview with the late Binger Hermann, in part respecting the admission of Oregon as a state.

The Old Missions of California: the Story of the Peaceful Conquest of the State, by Nolan Davis, has been brought out in Oakland by the Mission Publishing Company.

CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* for June presents a brief statement regarding the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, held at Ottawa on May 17 and 18, a valuable article by Mr. William Smith, of the Public Archives of Canada, on Canada and Constitutional Development in New South Wales, and a paper by Professor W. R. Livingston, of the University of Iowa, on the First Responsible Party Government in British North America (Nova Scotia). A long letter of Louis Riel and Ambroise Lépine to Lieutenant Governor Morris of Manitoba (1873) is presented in translation with elaborate notes by A. H. de Trémaudan.

Canadian Public Opinion on the American Civil War, by Helen G. Macdonald, is no. 273 of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

An important study of *The Unreformed Senate of Canada*, by Robert A. Murray (pp. xvi, 284), prepared under the advice of Professor E. S. Corwin at Princeton, is published in Toronto by the Oxford University Press.

Vol. II. of the *Papers and Records* of the Welland County Historical Society contains an authoritative study of the Fenian Raid of 1866 by Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, followed by seven or eight papers containing personal reminiscences of the raid.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The *Papers* of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. XI., no. 2, embodies the official reports on the towns of Tequizistlan, Tepechpan, Acolman, and San Juan Teotihuacan sent by Francisco de Castañeda to Philip II. and the Council of the Indies in 1580. The reports are translated and edited by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall (Cambridge, the Museum).

The *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, XXIV. 1-6, lately issued, will be valued for the "Diccionario Geográfico de la Isla de Cuba" finished in manuscript in 1875 by José de J. Marquez, which constitutes the greater part of this volume, and contains many data not to be found in Pezuela.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dr. G. Friederici, *Die Heimat der Kokospalme und die Vorkolumbische Entdeckung Amerikas durch die Malaio-Polynesier* (Erdball, I. 2); Caroline F. Ware, *The Effect of the American Embargo, 1807-1809, on the New England Cotton Industry* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, August); William Notz, *Frederick List in America* (American Economic Review, June); André Maurois, *Joseph Smith, Fondateur du Mormonisme* (Revue de Paris, August 1);

James D. Hill, *The Burning of Columbia Reconsidered* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); James O. Knauss, *The Farmers' Alliance in Florida* (*ibid.*); Georg Karo, *Walter Hines Page* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, August); A. L. Leymarie, *Le Canada pendant la Jeunesse de Louis XIII.* [journal of Héroard] (Nova Francia, February 24); C. S. S. Higham, *The General Assembly of the Leeward Islands*, II. (English Historical Review, July); M. Cadwalader Hole, *Early Latin-American Press and Development of the Press of the Argentine Republic* (Bulletin of the Pan American Union, April).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. Albert T. Olmstead is a professor of history and curator of the Oriental Museum in the University of Illinois.

Dr. Carl Stephenson is a professor of history in the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. Wallace Notestein is Goldwin Smith professor of English history in Cornell University.

Dr. Merle E. Curti is an assistant professor of history in Smith College.

Mr. Waldo G. Leland is a member of the staff of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Mr. Roger P. McCutcheon is a member of the department of English in Tulane University.

Mr. Carroll B. Malone is a professor of history in Tsing Hua College, Peking.

Hon. Lewis Einstein is United States envoy to Czechoslovakia.